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ANCIENT BUDDHISM IN JAPAN

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ANCIENT BUDDHISM IN JAPAN

SŪTRAS AND CEREMONIES IN USE IN THE
SEVENTH AND EIGHTH CENTURIES A.D.
AND THEIR HISTORY IN LATER TIMES

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VOLUME II



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TO THE LOVING MEMORY
OF HIS BELOVED PARENTS, WIFE AND SISTER
AND TO HIS DEAR SON
THIS BOOK IS AFFECTIONATELY DEDICATED
BY THE AUTHOR.

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BOOK II
THE EIGHTH CENTURY

CHAPTER X.

THE SŪTRAS USED IN THE EIGHTH CENTURY.

List of the sūtras, in chronological order.

The *sūtras* used in the eighth century are the following numbers of Nanjō's *Catalogue of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka*.

No. 127	A D 702, 703, 705, 725, 728, (747), 749, 806	<i>Konkwōmyōkyō</i>	金光明經	<i>Suvarṇa-prabhāsa sūtra</i> , translated A D 414—423 by Dharmarakṣa II, 4 fasc, 19 chapters, cf Ch I, § 1, No 8. § 8, Ch VIII, § 7
2) No. 126	A D 725, 734, 737, 738, (739), 741, 743, 745, (747), 749, 758, 767, 769, 782, 789, 802, 804	<i>Konkwōmyō-Sai-shōōkyō</i> Cf <i>Gokoku-jōjuku-kyō</i> , A.D 739, VII 14, above Ch. VIII, § 15 (<i>Kichyō-kekwa</i>)	金光明最勝王經 (Cf 五穀成熟經)	Same <i>sūtra</i> , translated A D. 700—712 by I-tsing 10 fasc, 31 chapters Used to protect the country and to give peace to the nation Cf above, Ch VIII, § 7
	A D 720, VIII 2, 745, IX 20, 750, IV 4, 754, XI 8, 773, XII 25, 796, X 21—27, 805, II 19.	<i>Yakushukyō</i>	藥師經	<i>Bhalsajyaguru-Tathāgata-pūrvapranidhāna-sūtra</i> , translated A D. 650 by Huen-tsang (1 fasc) Cf Nos 167 (12), 170, 172, 173 Cf Ch. I, § 1, No. 10, Ch. VIII, § 14.

4) No 88	A D 722, XI 19 (80 fasc), 749 Interc V 20, 804, 17	<i>Kegonkyō</i>	華嚴經	<i>Buddhāvataṃsaka-mahāvaiṣṭṭya-sūtra</i> , translated * A D. 695—699 by Śikṣhānanda (App II 145) 80 fasc, 39 chapters Cf. Nos 87, 89 (60 and 40 fasc), 1589—1593, 1595, 1596, 1598, 1606, 1622, 1639 (commentaries)
5) No. 61	A D 722, XI 19 (60 fasc), 745, V 8.	<i>Daishūkyō</i>	大集經	<i>Mahāvaiṣṭṭya</i> (大方等)- <i>Mahāsannipāta</i> (大集)- <i>sūtra</i> , translated A D 414-423 by Dharmarakṣa II (App II 67) 4 parts, 60 fasc Cf Nos 62, 976, 978, 1457
6) No. 113	A D 722 XI 19 (40 fasc), 804, I 7.	<i>Nehangyō</i> (Northern text)	(大般) 涅槃 經 (北本)	<i>Mahāparinirvāna-sūtra</i> , trans- lated A D 423 by Dharma- rakṣa II (App II 67) 40 fasc, 13 chapters Cf Nos 114 (Southern text), 115, 116, 118— 121, 545 (2), 552, comm 1206, 1544—1546
7) No 23 (12)	A D 722, XI 19 (20 fasc)	(<i>Daī</i>) <i>Bosatsuō- kyō</i>	(大) 菩薩藏 經	<i>Bodhisattva-piṭaka</i> , translated A D 645 by Huen-tsang 20 fasc, 12 chapters Cf Nos. 1005, 1103
8) No. 137	A D 722, XI 19 (200 fasc), 740, IX 15 (10 fasc).	<i>Kwanzeongyō</i> (<i>Fu- monbon</i>)	觀世音經 (普門品)	<i>Avalokiteśvara-sūtra</i> , i.e. the <i>Kwanzeon Bosatsu Fumonbon</i> , the 25th section of the Lotus <i>sūtra</i> . Prose translated A D 406 by Kumārajīva, <i>gāthās</i> transl. A D. 561—578 by Jñā- nagupta (App II 125, 129). 7 leaves. Cf above, Ch I, § 1, no. 11; § 11.

9) No. 134	A D 726, VIII 15, 734, XI 21, 740, VI 19, 741, III 24, 748 VII 18, 782, XII 23, 789, XII 29, 803, III 8, 804, I 7, 806, I 26, II 23	<i>Hokkekyō</i>	法華經 (妙法蓮華 經)	<i>Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra</i> (the Lotus sūtra), translated A D 402–412 by Kumārajīva. 7 fasc, 28 ch Cf Nos 138, 139, commentaries 1232, 1233. Cf above, Ch I, § 1, No 2, § 2 Sanskrit text transl by Prof Kern (<i>Sacred Books of the East</i> , XXI).
10) No 1	A D 725, 735, 737, 741, 744, 745, 758, 760, 767, 770, 774, 775, 776, 777, 789, 799, 805	<i>Dathannya-kyō</i>	大般若(波 羅蜜多)經	<i>Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra</i> , translated A D 659 by Huen- tsang, 600 fasc (16 sūtras) Cf Nos 2–22, 797, 862, 864, 865, 879, 927, 991, 999, 1033, 1034, commentary No 1169, on sūtras of the same class Nos 1167, 1168, 1192, 1208, 1231, 1309, 1310, 1406, 1407, 1564
11) No 10	A D 727, II 18, VIII 12, 758, VII 28, 797, V 19	<i>Kongō-hannya-kyō</i>	金剛般若 經	<i>Vajra-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra</i> , translated A D 402 by Ku- mārajīva 14 leaves Cf Nos 1 (9), 11–15 Commentaries. Nos 1167, 1168, 1192, 1550, 1615 Cf above, Ch. I, § 1, No 9, Ch I, § 9
12) No 17	A D 729, VI 1, 746, III 15, 747, V 15, 750, V 8, 753, III 29, 756, XII 5, 757, VII 24; 760, II 29, 770, I 15, 772, VI 15, 794 IX 3, 29.	<i>Ninnō-hannya-kyō</i>	仁王般若 經	<i>"Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra</i> (ex- plaining) how benevolent kings (<i>kāraṇika-rāja</i>) may protect their countries". Trans- lated A D 402–412 by Ku- mārajīva 2 fasc, 8 ch. Cf Nos 965, 1406 (<i>dhāraṇī</i>), 1419, 1435 (rites), 1566, 1567 (comm) Cf Ch I, § 1, No 7, Ch. I, § 7, Ch V.

13) No. 303	A D. 733, VII 6	<i>Urabongyō</i>	孟蘭盆經	<i>Avalambana sūtra</i> , translated A D 266—313 (or 317)* by Dharmaraksha I (App. II 23). 2 leaves Cf No 304. Comm. No 1601. Cf above Ch. I, § 1, No. 6, Ch. I, § 6, Ch. IV.
14) No 126?	A D 739, VII 14	<i>Gokoku-jōjuku-kyō</i>	五穀成熟經	"Sūtra for ripening the five cereals", combined with 7 days <i>kekwa</i> Probably <i>Saishōōkyō</i> and <i>Kichyō-kekwa</i> . Cf above Ch VIII, § 15
15) No 1087	A D 756, XII 29, 757, I 5, 761, VI 8	<i>Bommōkyō</i>	梵網經	<i>Brahmajāla-sūtra</i> , translated A D 406 by Kumārajīva 2 fasc Vinaya text of Mahāyāna, transl by Prof de Groot in his <i>Code du Mahāyāna</i> . Commentaries of the Ming dynasty, not in the Canon
16) No 146	A D 757, Interc VIII, 17, 802, I 13 (<i>Yuuma-e</i>)	<i>Yuuma-kyō</i>	維摩(詰)經	<i>Vimalakīrti nirdeśa (sūtra)</i> , translated A D. 402—412 by Kumārajīva 3 fasc, 14 ch Cf Nos 147, 149, 144, 145, 181, 1632 (comm) Cf above Ch I, § 1, No 5, and § 5
17) No 199	A.D 760, VII 26	<i>Shōsan-jōdōkyō</i>	稱讚淨土 (佛攝受)經	"Sūtra on the Favour of (all) Buddhas and the Praise of the Pure Land, i.e. <i>Sukhāvatī-vyūha</i> , translated A D 650 by Huen-tsang Cf Nos 198, 200—202, 1559, 1560 (<i>T'ien-t'ai</i> comm) (Short <i>sūtra</i>), 23 (5), 25—27, 203, 863, 1603 (Large <i>sūtra</i>), 204 (<i>Kwangyō</i>) Cf Ch I, § 1, No 3; Ch. VIII, § 16.
18) —	A D 767, VIII, 29, 805, X 25	<i>Issaikyō</i>	一切經	"All the <i>sūtras</i> ", the whole canon. Cf above, Ch. I, § 1, No. 4a, and § 4.

CHAPTER XI.

THE KONKWŌMYŌKYŌ (DHARMARAKSA II's TRANSLATION, NANJŌ No. 127) AND THE KONKWŌMYŌ-SAISHŌŌKYŌ (I-TSING's TRANSLATION OF THE SUVARNAPRABHĀSA-SŪTRA, NANJŌ No. 126). JAPANESE BUDDHISM IN GENERAL IN THE EIGHTH CENTURY.

A. *The Konkwōmyōkyō (Dharmarakṣa's translation).*

§ 1. *Contents of the Konkwōmyōkyō (Nanjō No. 127).*

This *sūtra*, translated A D 414—423 by Dharmaraksha II, is as Nanjō (No. 127) says, "an earlier and incomplete translation of No. 126, the *Konkwōmyō Saishōōkyō* (commonly called *Saishōōkyō*, and translated A.D. 700—712 by I-tsing; 10 fasc., 31 ch.). In China this is the most popular translation, having two famous commentaries of the *T'ien-t'ai* school), viz. Nos. 1548 and 1552".

In Ch. I, § 8, pp 14—16 we dealt with its use in Japan during the 7th century, and with its different translations and *T'ien-t'ai* commentaries. In Ch. VIII, § 7, pp. 263 sqq. we treated the passages of the *Konkwōmyōkyō* and the *Saishōōkyō* concerning the doctrine of repentance. In Ch. VIII, § 15, pp. 309 sqq. we gave the meaning and the history of the *Kichijō-kekwa* or "Rites of Repentance in worship of the *Devī Śrī*", based upon the *Saishōōkyō*.

According to Nanjō's terminology the *Konkwōmyōkyō* consists of 4 fasciculi and 19 chapters (卷, *kwan*, and 品, *hon*, in the present work usually translated by "chapters" and "sections").¹

It is divided as follows (we omit the word *hon*, section).

¹ With regard to the Lotus *sūtra* we translate *hon* by *chapter* and *kwan* by *fasciculus*

- I 1, Preface.
- I 2, 壽量, *Juryō*, Length of (the Buddha's) life.
- I 3, 懺悔, *Sange*, Repentance.
- I 4, 讚歎, *Sandan*, Praise (of all the Buddhas of the 4 quarters).
- I 5, 空, *Kū*, "Emptiness".
- II 6, 四天王, *Shi-Tennō*, The Four Deva Kings (Guardians of the World).
- II 7, 大辯天神, *Dai-Benten-jin*, the Goddess *Sarasvatī*.
- II 8, 功德天, *Kudoku Ten* (i.e. *Kichijō Ten*), the Goddess *Śrī*.
- II 9, 堅牢地神, *Kenrō Jishin*, the Earth goddess *Drdha*.
- III 10, 散脂鬼神, *Sanshi kijin*, the Demon *Sañjaya*, protector of the Law.
- III 11, 正論, *Shōron*, "Correct discussion" (as means to rule a country well).
- III 12, 善集, *Zenshū*, (King) "Collection of Virtues".
- III 13, 鬼神, *Kijin*, Demons and Spirits.
- III 14, 授記, *Juki*, Prophecy of Buddhahood (given by the Buddha to the Bodhisattva *Shinsō* (信相) and his two sons)
- III 15, 除病, *Jobyō*, "Taking away diseases".
- IV 16, 流水長者子, *Rusui chōja shi*, The son of the elder (*śresthin*) *Jalavāhana* ("Flowing Water").
- IV 17, 捨身, *Shashin*, Throwing away (sacrificing) one's body.
- IV 18, 讚佛, *Sambutsu*, Praising the Buddha.
- IV 19, 囑累, *Zokurui*, (The Buddha) commits the *sūtra* (to the Bodhisattvas, Devas, Nāga kings, the 28 kinds of Demons (subjects of the Four Deva Kings), and to *Sañjaya*, Great General of the Demons) ¹

¹ A similar *Shokuruihon* forms the end of many *sūtras* (e.g. of the *Ninnō-kyō* and the *Yumakyō*), but it is the 22nd of the 28 sections of the Lotus *sūtra*.

The Preface consists of 108 (the holy number) lines of 4 characters, forming a hymn in honour of this *sūtra*, which is called the "King of *Sūtras*" This term, sometimes used in the Japanese annals, is not confined to this text, for it is also used in the *Lotus sūtra* (*Yaku-ō-hon*), in the *Saishōkyō* (Ch. I, of course, because it is the same *sūtra*), and in the *Shunjikwangyō* (心地觀經, Nanjō No 955, Ch VIII) ¹ The Buddha says that the Four Buddhas of the four quarters (mentioned also above, Ch. VIII, § 7, p 268), *Aksobhya* (East), *Ratnaketu* (South), *Amūṭayus* (West) and *Varaśvara* ("Delicate and Wonderful Voice", *Mimyōshō*, 微妙聲) (North), always protect this *sūtra*, which is unsurpassed in its wondrous beauty and depth of meaning ² He (the Buddha) will explain the blessings of the Rites of Repentance and of listening to the reading of this *sūtra* with a pure heart, a clean body and clean clothes All evil shall be "extinguished", and the Four Deva Kings with their whole retinues, as well as the numberless Yakshas, shall come to protect those who faithfully keep this *sūtra*. Night and day *Sarasvatī* (*Dai-Bentenjin*), the god of the river *Nairāñjana*, *Hārītī*, the Earthgoddess *Drdha* (*Kenrō*), *Mahā-Brahma*, the 33 devas, the Great Divine *Nāga*-kings, the Kings of the *Kinnaras*, *Garuḍas* and *Asuras* with their followers, they all shall protect them. If they who hear this *sūtra*, explain it on behalf of others, follow (the virtuous deeds of others) and rejoice in them (*zuiki*), and make offerings (to the Buddhas), for innumeral kalpas they shall be revered by the Devas and by all the beings of the eight classes (*hachibu*), shall obtain wonderful and immeasurable felicity, and be protected by all the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas of the ten quarters. And all the Buddhas shall praise the highly virtuous root of those who grasp and keep in their hearts the Repentance preached by this text.

The contents of the second, third and fourth sections have been treated above (Ch. VIII, § 7). The fifth is a hymn on

¹ *Dayūten*, p. 253, 3, s v *kyō-ō* The *Ninnōkyō* is also designated by this term.

² Preface, p 45, a.

"Emptiness". In the sixth the Four Deva Kings, the Guardians of the World, promise with all their numberless followers (demons and spirits) to protect the kings (together with their families and their countries), who attentively listen to this *sūtra* and respectfully make offerings, reading, receiving and keeping this holy text. Then they praise the Buddha's pure moon with its thousand-fold light, and the Buddha answers them with a hymn of praise of this *sūtra's* blessing power. This is the main part of the text and the principal reason for the great importance attached to it, as we may deduce from the fact that in A.D. 741 (Tempyō 13, III 24), when the Emperor Shōmu established the *Kokubunji* or Provincial State Monasteries, he called them *Konkwōmyō Shūtennō gokokuji*, or "Monasteries for the protection of the country by the Four Deva Kings (to be obtained by means of) the *Konkwōmyōkyō*".

As to the protection promised in the other sections by *Sarasvatī*, *Kudoku Ten* ("Devī of Blessing Power", i. e. *Kichijō Ten* or the Devī Śrī), the Earth goddess *Dṛḍha*, and the Demon King *Saṅjaya* (*Sanshi kijin*), who with all his followers shall protect those who devoutly listen to this *sūtra*, we saw above (Ch. VIII, § 15, p. 309) that the *Devī Śrī* (*Lakṣmī*), the Goddess of Felicity, was worshipped by means of the *Kichijō-kekwa* or "Rites of Repentance in honour of the *Devī Śrī*", based upon the *Konkwōmyō-Saishōōkyō*. Thus we see that next to the Four Deva Kings this goddess was considered to be the mightiest protectress of faithful believers in the holy "King of *Sūtras*", the "*Sūtra* of the Golden Light".

§ 2. The *Konkwōmyōkyō* in China.

According to the *Kao-sāng-chw'en* (*Kōsōden*, 高僧傳, A.D. 519)¹ Kaśyapa Mātāṅga (攝摩騰, *Shōmatō*), who A.D. 67

¹ Nanjō No. 1490, Ch 1, compiled in A.D. 519 by Hwui-kiao, 慧皎, a Chinese priest of the Liang dynasty (App III 8).

arrived in China, where he translated Nanjō No. 678 (the *Sūtra* of 42 sections) (Nanjō App. II, 1), had expounded the *Konkwōmyōkyō* in a small country attached to India

In China, however, it was not until the Northern Liang dynasty (A.D. 397—439) that the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra* was translated by Dharmarakṣa II (A.D. 414—423). Shortly before (A.D. 402—412) Kumārajīva had translated the *Ninnōkyō* (cf. above, Ch. V, § 2), and during the fifth century both *sūtras* were very often explained together.

The sixth century (Ch'en and Sui dynasties, A.D. 557—618), however, was the period when the Emperors began to pay much attention to the *Konkwōmyōkyō* and the *T'ien-t'ai* priests included it among its most important texts.¹ In A.D. 558 (Ying-ting 2) (11th month) the Emperor Wu T'i went to the *Chwang-yen-szē* (莊嚴寺, *Shōgonji*), where he devoted special study to this subject, and in A.D. 563 (T'ien-kia 4) his successor Wen T'i held a meeting of Buddhist priests in the *Ta-kih-tien* (*Daigokuden*) of his Palace in order to perform the *Konkwōmyōsen* (懺) or "Ceremony of Repentance based upon the *Suvarṇa-prabhāsa-sūtra*" (the *Konkwōmyō-sammai-sen* or *Kichiyō-kekwa* or *Kichiyō-sembo*) (cf. above, Ch. VIII, §§ 7 and 15)

During the Sui dynasty (A.D. 581—618) Ch'i-l (智顗), i. e. Ch'i-ché ta-shi, the founder of the *T'ien-t'ai* school (A.D. 531—597), expounded the *Konkwōmyōkyō* (cf. Nanjō No. 1548 and 1552, commentaries orally given by him and recorded by his disciple Kwan-ting (A.D. 561—632)), and thenceforth the priests of this sect attached increasing importance to this *sūtra* (cf. Nanjō Nos. 1549 and 1553, commentaries on those two works, written about A.D. 1020 by the *T'ien-t'ai* priest Ch'i-li, 智禮).

The first commentary on the *Konkwōmyōkyō* was written by

¹ As to Nanjō No. 130 (A.D. 597), a compilation of three incomplete translations of this *sūtra* (No. 127 and those of Paramārtha and Yaśogupta, made A.D. 548—557 and 561—578, cf. above, Ch. I, § 8, *Dayu*, I, p. 1442, 2, s.v. *Konkwōmyōkyō*).

Paramārtha (眞諦) (*Shintai*), an Indian priest who in A.D. 548 arrived in China and worked till his death (in A.D. 569) (Nanjō App. II 104 and 105). He also wrote a translation of the *sūtra* (cf. above, Ch. I, § 8, p. 15); his commentary (疏) consists of 13 chapters (fasc.). Other commentaries on the old translation are those of Kih-tsang (吉藏, Kichizō) (A.D. 549—623), the founder of the *San-lun* (*Sanron*) sect in China, also called Kia-siang ta-shi (嘉祥大師) after the monastery of that name (Kajō Daishi), who also wrote a commentary on the *Ninnōkyō* (cf. above, Ch. V, § 2 A, p. 120); of Tsung-hiao (宗曉) (A.D. 1151—1214) (光明照解, 2 chapters); and of Sheu-t'ai (受汰) (time?) (4 chapters).¹

§ 3. *The Konkōmyōkyō in Japan (A.D. 676—728).*

As seen in Ch. I, § 7 (p. 13), in A.D. 676 (XI 20) "messengers were sent (by the Emperor Temmu) to all provinces to expound the *Konkōmyōkyō* and the *Ninnōkyō*" In A.D. 680 (V 1) "the expounding of the *Konkōmyōkyō* was begun in the Palace and in the various Buddhist temples" In A.D. 686 (VII 8) "one hundred priests were invited into the Palace and made to read this *sūtra*" (to save the Emperor Temmu's life) In A.D. 692 (Interc. V 3) the Empress Jitō ordered it to be expounded in the capital and the four Home provinces on account of great floods. As to the expounding of the *Ninnōkyō* and the *Konkōmyōkyō* in A.D. 693 (X) in the Palace, this is not mentioned in the *Nihongi*; as the text is wrongly called *Saishōkyō* in the *Genkō Shakusho*, the statement is untrustworthy. In A.D. 694 (V 11) "one hundred copies of the *Konkōmyōkyō* were sent (by the Empress Jitō) and deposited in the various provinces, to be read without fail when the moon of the first month was in her first quarter. The fees (to the priests) were to be defrayed from the public

¹ *Dayu* I, p. 1442, 2, s.v.

revenues of the province". In A.D. 696 (XII 1) the same text was again ordered to be expounded.

In A.D. 702 (XII 13), when the Emperor Mommu was ill, a great amnesty was granted throughout the Empire, a hundred men were caused to become monks, and order was given to expound the *Konkwōmyōkyō* in the four Home provinces ¹

In A.D. 703 (VII 13), it was read by Imperial order in the four great temples of Nara. *Yakushiji*, *Gwangōji*, *Kōfukuji* and *Daianji* (藥師寺, 元興寺, 興福寺, 大安寺) (Nos. 1 and 3 belonging to the *Hossō* sect, Nos. 2 and 4 to the *Sanron* sect), four days later messengers were sent to Shintō gods of Famous Mountains and Great Rivers to pray for rain ²

In A.D. 705, in the fourth month, when heavy drought prevailed, the Emperor Mommu had the same *sūtra* read in the five great temples of Nara (*Hōryūji* probably being the fifth), in order to save the people from suffering (爲救民苦) ³

In A.D. 728 (XII 28) (in the Emperor Shōmu's time) (724—749) 640 chapters of the *Konkwōmyōkyō*, in 64 covers (帙, *chitsu*), were distributed, 10 chapters to each province; the provinces possessed already eight or four chapters of it. According to the day on which the copies arrived in the different provinces they were ordered to have them partly read (*tendoku*, 轉讀) for the sake of the peace of the State (爲令國家平安也, *kokka heian narashimen ga tame nari*). ⁴

In A.D. 734 (XI 21) I-tsing's translation of the text, called *Saishōkyō*, was mentioned for the first time. The *Dajōkwan*, in a memorial to the Throne, stated that of late the monks and nuns, who had to propagate the Buddhist doctrine, did not investigate their task of study, and that henceforth all those who wished to be included into the religious order, should learn by

¹ *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. II, p. 25.

² *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. III, p. 29.

³ *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. III, p. 34

⁴ *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. X, p. 168

heart the whole texts of the *Hokkekyō* and the *Saishōōkyō*, understand the service of Buddha and lead a pure life (with religious austerities) for three years.¹

Thenceforward the *Saishōōkyō* was used instead of the *Konkwōmyōkyō*, and if, as in A.D. 749, the latter is mentioned, we may be sure that the former is meant, because its full title is *Konkwōmyō-Saishōōkyō*. The fact that the *Kokubunji*, established in A.D. 741, were called *Konkwōmyō-Shitennō-gokokuji*, although they were destined to promote the peace of the State by reading the *Saishōōkyō*, is clear evidence of the use of the term *Konkwōmyō* in the sense of I-tsing's translation of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa sūtra*. Moreover, the *Gosaie*, a festival celebrated in the first month (I 8—14) in the Imperial Palace (from A.D. 768), was also called *Konkwōmyō-e*, although its text was the *Saishōōkyō*.

B. *The Konkwōmyō-Saishōōkyō (I-tsing's translation of the Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra).*

§ 4. *Contents of the Saishōōkyō (Nanjō No. 126).*

I-tsing's translation (A.D. 700—712) (Nanjō No 126) is far more extensive than that of Dharmaraksha, which was three centuries earlier and incomplete. It is divided into 10 *kwan* (which Nanjō calls "fasciculi", but we term "chapters") and 31 *hon* (品) (Nanjō's "chapters", our "sections").

I 1 and I 2, the Preface and the section on the length of the Buddha's life, are found in both works, but II 3 of the *Saishōōkyō* (*Bumbetsu sanshin*, where the Buddha explains the three bodies of all Buddhas, the 化身, 應身 and 法身, *keshūn*, *ōjin* and *hōshūn*, i. e. the inferior and the superior *Nirmāṇakāya* (the

¹ *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. XI, p. 196.

Sambhogakāya being omitted) and the *Dharmakāya*,¹ is lacking in the older translation.

II 4, entitled *Muken konku sange*, 夢見金鼓懺悔, "Repentance (preached by) the Golden Drum seen in a dream", is I 3 of the *Konkwōmyōkyō*. Cf. above Ch. VIII, § 7, p. 268.

III 5, *Metsugōshō*, 滅業障, "Annihilating the obstacles of deeds" (i. e. the four kinds of evil actions, obstacles on the Road to Nirvāna). At the end of this section four kinds of blessings are promised to the countries where this *sūtra* is read:

1. The kings of those countries shall be free from diseases and all other calamities.

2. Their life shall be long and without obstacles.

3. They shall have no enemies, and their warriors shall be brave and strong.

4. There shall be peace, abundance and joy in those countries, and the Correct Law (*Saddharma*) shall spread everywhere. The Four Deva Kings and the crowd of Yakshas shall always protect those kings.

After these words of the Buddha the Four Deva Kings and the Yakshas promised to fulfill this task.

This section is omitted in the *Konkwōmyōkyō*, as well as the next one (IV 6, 最淨地陀羅尼, *Saijōji daran*, "Dhāranī (given by the Buddha) (obtained by the Bodhisattvas) of the (ten) priest stages (of Bodhisattvaship)") Here the Buddha gives the magic formulae obtained by the Bodhisattvas of each of the ten stages, *dasabhūmi*, into which their career is divided.

The fifth chapter consists of five sections (7—11), the first of which (*Renge yusan*, 蓮華喻讚, "Praise (of all the Buddhas of the four quarters) by means of the comparison of the Lotus flowers") agrees with I 4 of the older translation. The second

¹ Concerning these three bodies cf. *Dayūten*, p. 629, 2; p. 146, 2, s. v. *ōshun*; *Dayū*, I, p. 446, s. v. *ōjin*, Mc Govern, *Introduction to Mahāyāna Buddhism*, Ch. III, pp. 75, sqq.

(V 8, *Konshō daranī*, 金勝陀羅尼, "The Golden Superior *Dhāraṇī*", enabling one to see and worship the Buddhas of the past, present and future) and VII 13 (*Muzenjaku*, 無染著, "Undefined", *daranī*) are not found there. Of V 9 and 10, devoted to Emptiness, the former section (*Jūken kūshō*, 重顯空性, "The nature of Emptiness, carefully explained" by the Buddha, by means of a *gāthā*) corresponds to I 5 of the *Konkwōmyōkyō*, whereas V 10 (*Ikū mangwan*, 依空滿願, "Fulfilling of vows, relying on Emptiness"), at the end of which Brahma and his followers, Indra, the Four Deva Kings and all the Yakshas utter a solemn vow to protect and propagate this *sūtra* and to protect the priests who explain it as well as the peoples of the countries where this takes place, is lacking in the older translation.

V 11 (*Shitennō kwansatsu jūten*, 四天王觀察人天, "The Four Deva Kings meditate upon (and protect) men and devas") and VI 12 (the whole chapter, entitled *Shitennō gokoku*, 護國, "The Four Deva Kings protect the countries" where this *sūtra* is read) correspond to II 6 of the *Konkwōmyōkyō* ("The Four Deva Kings"), forming the principal part of the *sūtra*.

VII 14 deals with *dhāraṇī*, called *Nyoi hōju*, 如意寶珠, or "Precious pearls, which grant all desires" (*cintāmaṇi*). These magic formulae protect against all kinds of calamities, also against thunder and lightning. This section, like the other sections or magic formulae, are not found in Dharmarakṣa's translation.

Then follow the sections regarding *Daibenzaitenno* (*Sarasvatī*, VII 15a, VIII 15b), *Daikichiyōtenno* (the *Devī Śrī*, giver of felicity and wealth to the readers of this *sūtra*, VIII 16 and 17), *Kenrō Jishūn* (the Earth goddess *Drdha*, VIII 18), *Sanjaya*, the Great General of the Yakshas (VIII 19), and *Shōbō Shōron*, "Correct discussion on the *Saddharma*" (as means to rule a country well) (VIII 20), which agree with II 7, 8, 9 and III 10, 11 of the *Konkwōmyōkyō*. Also IX 21–25 correspond to III 12–15 and IV 16 (cf. above, Ch XI, § 1, p. 432) of the older translation; X 26 ("Throwing away, i. e. sacrificing one's body") is IV 17 of

the *Konkwōmyōkyō*, IV 18 of which is divided here into the four sections X 27—30 (Praise of the Buddha by the Bodhisattvas of the ten quarters, by the Bodhisattva *Myōdō*, 妙幢 (*Rucirāketu*), by the Spirit of the Bodhi tree, and by *Daibenzaitenno*, the *Devī Sarasvatī*). Finally X 31, entitled *Fuzoku* (付嘱) (*parīṇāna*), corresponds to IV 19 of the *Konkwōmyōkyō*, the Buddha commits the *sūtra* to the Bodhisattvas, Devas, etc., and the Bodhisattvas, the Four Deva Kings, Indra, the Devas of the Tushita heaven, Brahma, a son of Māra (called Śreshthīn), Māra himself, Mañjuśrī (*Myōkichijō Tenshi*), Maitreya, Makākāśyapa and Ānanda join their hands in reverence to the Buddha, and in short hymns (gāthās of 8 lines of 5 characters each) promise to protect this *sūtra* and its readers. They are then praised by the Buddha for these virtuous words.

The fact that this translation was far more extensive than that of Dharmaraksha, and that it contained many magic formulae (entirely lacking in the *Konkwōmyōkyō*) must have been the reason why in Japan the latter was soon superseded by the *Saishōōkyō* (after A.D. 734, whereas the new translation dated from the beginning of that century).

§ 5. *The Saishōōkyō commentaries in China and Japan.*

Nanjō (sub No. 127) states that in China Dharmaraksha's translation is the most popular, on account of the two famous *T'ien-t'ai* commentaries, orally given by Chi-ché ta-shi (during the Sui dynasty, A.D. 589—618), and recorded by his principal disciple Kwan-ting (Nos. 1548 and 1552). Also in later times commentaries were written on these works (about A.D. 1020 by the *T'ien-t'ai* priest Chi-li, Nanjō Nos. 1549 and 1553) and on Dharmaraksha's version itself (cf. above, Ch. XI, § 2, pp. 435 sq.).

Only one Chinese commentary (of 10 chapters) on I-tsing's translation is mentioned in the *Dayu*,¹ namely the 疏 (*shu*,

¹ *Dayu*, I, p. 1442, 2, s.v. *Konkwōmyōkyō*

Jap. *sho*, "detailed explanation"), written by the T'ang priest Hwui-chao (慧沼, *Eshō*), a pupil and follower of the celebrated *Fah-siang* (*Hossō*) priest Kw'ei-ki (窺基, Kiki, A.D. 632—682, called Ts'zë-ngăn Ta-shi, Jion Daishi, 慈恩大師, after his monastery). The Chinese *T'ien-t'ai* school, however, appears to have kept to the old translation,¹ and the other sects seem to have followed this example.

In Japan two commentaries on I-tsing's work were written by Kōbō Daishi (A.D. 774—835); the *Shingon* sect, as a matter of course, must have preferred this translation on account of the magic formulae, not found in Dharmaraksha's work. *Hossō* commentaries were those of Zenshu (善珠) (A.D. 723—797), Jōrō (常樂) (A.D. 741—814), Gyōshin (行信) († 750), Hyōbi (平備), and (probably also a *Hossō* or *Kegon* priest) Myōichi (明一) (A.D. 728—798). So far as we know the *Sanron* priests (as Dōji, 道慈, A.D. 737, and Gonsō, 勤操, A.D. 810) only expounded this *sūtra* orally in the Palace, and did not write about it.²

In the ninth century the great *Tendai* priests Saichō (Dengyō Daishi, A.D. 767—822) and Enchin (Chishō Daishi, A.D. 814—891) wrote on the *Saishōkyō*, which in A.D. 872 the latter added to the *Hokkekyō* and the *Ninnōkyō* as the three *gokoku-kyō* or "*sūtras* protecting the country".³

As to the *Shingon* priests, in A.D. 813 Shinen (眞圓) († 822), guided by Kūkai (Kōbō Daishi), made a study of the "secret meaning" of the *Saishōkyō*, and in A.D. 860 Sanchō (三澄) explained this *sūtra* and the *Hokkekyō* orally for the welfare of

¹ Nanjō No 1516, the *Konkwōmyō-saishō-sengi*, "Rites of Repentance, (based upon) the *Konkwōmyō-saishō*", written by Chi-li (about A.D. 1020) may refer to the *Saishōkyō*.

² Washio, p. 709, 1, 674, 1; 207, 2; 1023, 2, 1076, 2; 874, 1; 387, 2, under the names of these priests

³ Washio, p. 396 sqq., 95, 1, s.v. *Saichō* and *Enchin*.

the state.¹ Kōbō's commentaries were, of course, with regard to this *sūtra* the leading texts to the adherents of the Tantric doctrine. Their titles are: *Saishōōkyō kaidai* (開題) (2 *kwan*) and *Saishōōkyō ryakushaku* (略釋) ("abridged explanation", 1 *kwan*).

§ 6. *The Three Festivals of Nara (Nanto san(n)e).*

The Three Buddhist festivals of Nara (*Nanto* or *Nankyō san(n)e*, 南都, 南京三會) were:

1. The *Yuimae* (維摩會) of *Kōfukuji* (興福寺, the main shrine of the *Hossō* sect, originally called *Yamashina-dera*, 山階寺), celebrated yearly X 10—16. In the second year of the reign of the Empress Saimei (A.D. 656), when Nakatomi no Kamatari (the first of the Fujiwara's, who in A.D. 669, shortly before his death, received this name from Tenchi Tennō for himself and his descendants) was seriously ill, the Empress was much distressed and, in consequence of a memorial to the Throne of the Korean nun Hōmyō, 法明, from Kudara, caused this nun to read the "Section on asking about illness" (問疾品, *Monjichūbon*) of the *Yuimakyō* (Nanjō No. 146) and to pray for his recovery. This was successful, and two years later (A.D. 658) Kamatari made his house in Suehara into a Buddhist temple (*Yamashina-dera*, later *Kōfukuji* in Nara) and requested the Chinese *Sanron* priest Fukuryō (福亮), who lived in *Gwangōji*, to act as *kōshi* and expound the *Yuimakyō*.² This was the origin of the *Yuimae*, which was celebrated for 12 years as a special festival of the Fujiwara family, and then was temporarily stopped until A.D. 706 (Keiun 3), when under Mommu Tennō's reign the Dainagon Fujiwara no Fubito (A.D. 659—720) reestablished it and made it a festival celebrated on behalf of his father Kamatari's soul. In A.D. 710 (Wadō 3) he transplanted the family sanctuary

¹ Washio, p. 453, 2; 407, 2, s v *Shinen* and *Sanchō*.

² *Genkō Shakusho*, Ch. XXI, p. 993; *Fusō ryakki*, Ch. IV, pp. 516 sq.

Yamashina-dera to Nara and called this new temple *Kōfukujī*; there in A.D. 712 (Wadō 5) the *Yuima-e* took place for the first time.¹ After the *Nambokuchō* (A.D. 1336–1392) it was celebrated only once in two or five years, sometimes even omitted for 15 years, but it was not abolished before the Restoration in 1868.²

2 The *Gosai* (御齋會) or *Misai* or *Saishōe* or *Konkwō-myō-e*, "Imperial vegetarian entertainment of priests", or "Meeting devoted to the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa sūtra*", dealt with below (same paragraph, C 1), from A.D. 802 to 1467 it took place yearly I 8–14 in the *Daigokuden* of the Imperial Palace. The *Saishōōkyō* was the text expounded during those days. It belonged to the three festivals of Nara, although it took place in the Palace of Kyōto, because it was originally a Nara ceremony performed by priests of the six sects of Nara.

3 The *Saishōe* (最勝會) or "Meeting devoted to the *Saishōōkyō*", also treated below (Ch. XI, § 8 B). From A.D. 830 (Tenchō 7) to 1445 (Bunan 2) this was held yearly III 7–13, in the *Hossō* sanctuary *Yakushiji* at Nara. As the *Yuimae* was originally a Fujiwara festival, the *Saishōe* was connected with the Minamoto family.

In A.D. 859 (Jōkwan 1, I 8) the Emperor Seiwa combined these three festivals of Nara and fixed their leadership in the following way. Every year, in the tenth month (X 10–16), the *kōshū* of the *Yuimae* of *Kōfukujī* had to be appointed. He could be chosen from all sects, but only priests of great learning, belonging to the *gokaisō* (五階僧) or "priests of the five degrees" were taken for this important function.³ The following year the

¹ *Genkō Shakusho*, Ch. XXI, pp. 1007 sq. (A.D. 712 for the first time in *Kōfukujī*), *Fusō ryakki*, Ch. VI, pp. 539, 543 (A.D. 714 given as first date).

² *Dayu*, III, p. 4425, 1, s.v. *Yuimae*, p. 3556, 1, s.v. *Nankyō saie*.

³ These five degrees were instituted in Seikō 2 (A.D. 855), the third was *Yuima-ryūgi*, the fourth *kōshū* of the *ango* or Summer-retreat, those who had passed these five degrees could become *kōshū* of one of the provinces (cf. this chapter, § 7, B, *Dayūten*, p. 513, 1, s.v. *gokaisō*).

same priest would become *kōshi* of the *Gosai* of the first month, celebrated in the *Daigokuden*, and of the *Saishōe* of *Yakushiji*, performed in the third month (III 7—13). Those who had led these three ceremonies would be successively appointed *sōgō* (priests of the three highest ranks, *risshi*, *sōzu*, *sōjō*).¹ They were called *ikō* (已講), “those who have expounded”, after having fulfilled their threefold task, and *gikō* (擬講), “those whose expounding has been fixed”, when they had received the Imperial command but had not yet accomplished this task. Afterwards there were also *ikō* and *gikō* of the three *choku-e* of the Northern capital (*Hokkyō*, i.e. Kyōto) (勅會, meetings held by Imperial order, similar to the *Nankyō san(n)e*, mentioned above), namely the *Hokke-e* and *Saishōe* of *Enshūji* (圓宗寺), and the *Dayōe* (大乘會) of *Hōshōji* (法勝寺), i.e. the *Hokkyō san(n)e* or *Tendai san(n)e* (instituted A.D. 1072 and 1078).²

According to the *Dayūten* the *Nankyō Suikō no san(n)e* (南京遂講三會) or “Three Festivals of the Southern Capital, accomplishing the expounding (of *sūtras*)” were the *Yuimae* of *Kōfukuji* (X 10—16), the *Gosai* of the *Daigokuden* (I 8—14), and the *Hokke-e* of *Kōfukuji* (IX 30—X 6), whereas the *Nankyō Suigō* (遂業) *no san(n)e* or “Three Festivals of the Southern Capital, accomplishing the task (of the priests)”, thus called because the priests who had taken part in those three ceremonies were *suigō* or *tokugō* (得業), i.e. “fulfillers of the task”, were the *Yuimae* of *Kōfukuji*, the *Saishōe* of *Yakushiji* (III 7—13) and the *Hokke-e* of *Kōfukuji* (IX 30—X 6).³ This *Hokke-e*, however, which was a festival of the Fujiwara family, celebrated in order to promote the felicity of the soul (*tsuifuku*, 追福) of the Uda-jin Fujiwara no Uchimarō (A.D. 756—812 X 6) by

¹ *Nihon sandai jitsuroku*, Ch II, p. 17, *Nihon kiryaku*, *zempo*, Ch XVII, p. 567.

² *Dayū*, I, p. 120, 1, s.v. *ikō*, p. 636, 2, s.v. *gikō*; III, p. 3399, 3, s.v. *Tendai san(n)e*, p. 3556, 1, s.v. *Nankyō san(n)e*, *Ōkagami*, Ch VII, pp. 647 sq.

³ *Dayūten*, p. 1007, 1, s.v. *suigō*, p. 1273, 2, s.v. *tokugō*, p. 672, 1, s.v. *san(n)e*.

his son Fuyutsugu, who began to perform this ceremony in Kōnin 8 (A.D. 817, IX 30—X 6, the day of his father's death being the *kechigwan*, 結願, "closing the vow", i.e. the last day of the ceremony), was not a *choku-e* or "meeting by Imperial order". Therefore, although it was held yearly until A.D. 1467 (the Ōnin era), and afterwards every once in two, three, five or eight years until the Restoration (1868), it was not so important as the three *choku-e* mentioned above, the *Nankyō san(n)e: Yuimae*, *Gosae* and *Saishōe*.¹

§ 7. *The Saishōōkyō, the Kokubunji, Kokushi, and Japanese Buddhism in general in the eighth century.*

§ 7, A. *The Emperor Shōmu (A.D. 724 II 4—749 VII 2).*

The three *gokoku-kyō* (護國經), "Sūtras protecting the country", of Japan were the *Hokkekyō*, the *Ninnōkyō* and the *Konkwōmyō-Saishōōkyō*. They were also called the *Chungo-kokka-sambu* (鎮護國家三部) or "Three works protecting the State".

As stated above (Ch. XI, § 3), in A.D. 734 (IX 21) the *Saishōōkyō* was mentioned in Japan for the first time. Thenceforth all those who wished to become monks and nuns had to learn this text by heart as well as the *Hokkekyō*, and to lead a pure life for three years.²

In A.D. 737 (Tempyō 9, VIII 2) the Emperor Shōmu ordered the monks and nuns of all the provinces to purify themselves by ritual baths, and to read the *Saishōōkyō* two or three times a month; he also forbade the killing of living beings on the six fast-days of the month (*roku sainichi*, 六齋日, 8, 14, 15, 23,

¹ *Dayu*, III, p. 4093, 1, s.v. *Hōke-e*.

² *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. XI, p. 196

29 and 30th of each month, when the Four Deva Kings examine carefully the virtuous and wicked deeds of mankind and evil demons are especially dangerous).¹ And in the same year (VIII 15) he invited 700 monks to read the *Daihannyakyō* (evidently 600) and the *Saishōōkyō* (100) in fifteen apartments of the Palace, in order to promote the peace of the State (爲天下太平國土安寧).² Two months later (X 26) a famous *Santon* priest, the Vinaya-Master (*Risshi*) Dōji (律師道慈), who during his stay in China (A.D. 701—717) had led a Palace meeting in the Chinese capital Ch'ang-an to expound the *Ninnō-hannyakyō*, and in 737 had been permitted by the Japanese Emperor to read partly (*tendoku*) the 600 chapters of the *Daihannyakyō* in order to pray for the protection of the State (鎮護國家祈禱),³ was appointed Leader (*kōshi*, 講師, "Expounding Master"), and the priest Juzō (豎藏) Reader (*tokushi*, 讀師, "Reading Master") of the first *Konkōwmyō Saishōōkyō*-meeting in the *Daigokuden* (大極殿), one of the principal buildings of the Imperial Palace, with one hundred hearers (*chōshu*, 聽衆, listening priests) and one hundred *śrāmaṇeras* (*shamī*, 沙彌, religious novices).⁴

In A.D. 738 (IV 17) (Tempyō 10) the Emperor Shōmu proclaimed that the *Saishōōkyō* should be read by means of the *tendoku* system throughout the country, in order to promote the peace of the State (爲令國家隆平, *kokka ryūhei narashumen ga tame ni*).

¹ *Bukkyō dayiten*, p 1822, 3, s.v. *roku sainichi*

² *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. XII, p 210 The number 600 is proper to the *Daihannyakyō* because it is the number of its chapters (Nanjō No 1), as to the *Sūtra* of the Golden Light, in A.D. 686 a hundred priests recited this text (§ 3).

³ Washio, p 874, s.v. Dōji, *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. XII, p. 206.

⁴ *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. XII, p 212

§ 7, B. *The Kokubunji and Kokubun-nyū or Provincial State Monasteries and Nunneries The Kokushi or "Provincial Masters"*

In A D 741 (Tempyō 13) (III 24) the same Emperor issued a very important proclamation, stating that the year before he had ordered that each of the provinces should make one golden *Shaka* image, 16 feet high, and write out one copy of the *Daihannyakyō*, which had caused the storms to cease and the crops to grow abundantly. Now, on account of the vow of the Four Deva Kings, made in the presence of the Buddha, that they would always protect against calamities, sorrow and pestilence the countries where the *Saishōōkyō* were explained, read and propagated devoutly, in order to avert pestilence and famine His Majesty ordered that each of the provinces should build a seven-storied pagoda and write out ten copies of the *Konkwōmyō-Saishōōkyō* and the *Myōhō-rengēkyō*. He himself intended to make special copies, in golden characters, of the former *sūtra* and to have one of them deposited in each of the pagodas. In every province there was to be one official monastery, connected with the pagoda, and one nunnery,¹ all these monasteries to be called *Konkwōmyō-Shūtennō-gokokuji* (金光明四天王護國寺), "Monastery for the protection of the country by the Four Deva Kings (the Four Guardians of the World) (to be obtained by means of) the *Konkwōmyō (Saishōō) kyō*", and their twenty monks to expound this *sūtra* on the 8th day of every month. As to the nunneries, they were all to be called *Hokke-metsuzai no tera* (法華滅罪之寺), "Monastery for the extinction of sin (by means of) the Lotus *sūtra*", and their ten nuns should expound the *Hokkekyō* on the 8th day of every month (according to the

¹ Each of these monasteries obtained a sustenance-fief of 50 houses and 10 *chō* of rice-land, and each nunnery 10 *chō* of rice-land. Afterwards, in A D 747, XI 7, the Emperor granted 90 more *chō* to the monasteries and 40 to the nunneries (*Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. xvii, p. 273).

*Bukkyō dayūten*¹ this was the case; according to the text of the *Shoku Nihongi* the nuns had also to expound the *Konkwomyō* (*Saishōōkyō*), but the name of the nunneries is evidence of the fact that in them the Lotus *sūtra* was the main text, although in A.D. 758 (VII 28) the *Daihannyakyō* was made the secondary text, next to the *Saishōōkyō*, also in the nunneries. All these monks and nuns were to read the *kaikamma* (戒羯磨), a text on the commandments, in the middle of every month, and on the six fast-days it was publicly and privately forbidden to fish, hunt and kill living beings.² As to the monasteries and nunneries, mentioned in this passage, these were the so-called *kokubun-sōji* and *kokubun-niji* (國分僧寺, 尼寺), "Provincial monasteries and nunneries". In the Tempyō Shōhō era (A.D. 749—757) *Tōdayū* was made the *Sōkokubunji* (總國分寺) or "General State Monastery" and *Hokkeji* (also in Nara) the *Sōkokubun-niji* or "General State Nunnery"³

The *Bukkyō dayū*⁴ gives an interesting account of the history of these *kokubunji* and the measures taken by former Emperors and by Shōmu Tennō himself before their establishment, in order to spread Buddhism throughout the country.

In A.D. 685 (14th year of Temmu Tennō's reign, III 27) "orders were sent to all the provinces that in every house a Buddhist shrine should be provided, and an image of Buddha with Buddhist scriptures (*sūtras*) placed in it. At these shrines worship was to be paid and offerings made".⁵

In A.D. 694 (8th year of the Empress Jitō) (V 11) "one hundred copies of the *Konkwōmyōkyō* were sent and deposited in the various provinces to be read without fail when the moon of the first month was in her first quarter. The fees (to the priests)

¹ *Dayūten*, p. 463, s v *kokubunji* and *kokubun-niji*.

² *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch xiv, pp. 233 sq Cf Ch xvii, p 273

³ In A.D. 749 (VII 13) they obtained far more *chō* than the other *kokubunji*.

⁴ *Dayū*, I, p. 1282, 1, s v. *kokubunji*.

⁵ *Nihongi*, Ch xxix, p 536, Aston II, p 369.

were to be defrayed from the public revenues of the province (no money, everything being in kind)".¹

In A.D. 702 (2nd year of Mommu Tennō, II 20) "Provincial Masters" (*kokushi*, 國師) were appointed in all the provinces.² These *kokushi* were quite different from the "State-Masters" (*kokushi*, same characters). The task of the former was to rule the monks and nuns of their province and to expound *sūtras*; hence from A.D. 795 they were called *kōshi* (講師, "Expounding Masters") In A.D. 770 (Hōki 1) their number was increased, so that there were 3 or 4 in one province, but in A.D. 783 (Enryaku 2, X 1) in the largest provinces one *Daikokushi* or "Great Provincial Master" was appointed, in the smallest one *Shōkokushi* or "Small Provincial Master", and in the middle provinces an ordinary *kokushi*.³ The edict of A.D. 795 placed one *kōshi* in each province, and limited his task to the expounding of *sūtras*, and in A.D. 805 (Enryaku 24, XII 25) the term of his function was fixed at six years, and *tokushi*, "Reading Masters", were also appointed for this period.⁴ In A.D. 837 (Shōwa 4, XI) the order of examinations was fixed, and in the Engi era (A.D. 901—923) the Emperor Daigo ordered that these masters should be chosen from priests, 45 or more years old.⁵ As to the other *kokushi*, the "State Masters", priests of eminent virtue obtained this title as a special honour, and they had no connection with the provinces. In China in A.D. 550 (T'ien-pao 1) the Emperor Wen-suen of Northern Ts'ü was the first to bestow this title upon the priest Fah-shang (法常), when the latter had expounded the *Nehangyō* (*Nirvāṇa-sūtra*, Nanjō No. 113) in the Imperial Palace. Many priests were honoured in this way under the T'ang dynasty. In Japan in A.D. 1312 (Shōwa 1) the *Rinzai* priest Ben-en

¹ *Nihongi*, Ch. xxx, p. 567; Aston II, p. 416.

² *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. II, p. 21.

³ *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. xxxvii, p. 693.

⁴ *Nihon kōki*, Ch. XIII, p. 56.

⁵ *Dayu*, I, p. 1189, I, s.v. *kōshi*.

(辨圓, A.D. 1202—1280) obtained from the Emperor Hanazono the posthumous title of *Shōichi kokushi*, 聖一國師, or "Master of State, the First in Holiness", he had not received it during his life time, as the author of the article on the *kokushi* in the *Dayu* appears to suppose.¹ Afterwards several high-priests, mostly of the *Zen* sect, were honoured in this way whilst still alive. Thus in A.D. 1346 (XI 26) the *Rinzai* priest Soseki (疎石, A.D. 1275—1351) first received a purple robe and then the title of *Musō-shōgaku-kokushi* (夢窓正覺國師), to which in A.D. 1351 (VIII 15) the word *shinshū* (心宗) was added before *kokushi*, the next month he died, at the age of 76 years.² In China as well as in Japan the title *kokushi* was usually preceded by an honorary name.³

In A.D. 728 (XII 28) (Shinki 5) the Emperor Shōmu divided among the provinces⁴ 64 bundles of the *Konkwōmyōkyō* (640 *kwan*, 10 to each province).

In A.D. 737 (Temyō 9, III 3) the same Emperor issued an ordinance to the effect that in every province one image of Śākyamuni and one of his attendant Bodhisattvas Mañjuśrī and Samantabhadra (*Monju* and *Fugen*) should be made and a whole copy of the *Daihannyakyō* (Nanjō No. 1, 600 *kwan*) be written out and read by *tendoku* for the peace of the State.⁵

In A.D. 740 (Temyō 12, VI 19) Shōmu Tennō ordered every province to make ten copies of the *Hokkekyō* and to build a seven-storied pagoda.⁶

In A.D. 741 (Temyō 13, I 15) the family of the late *Dayō-dayū* Fujiwara no Ason Fubito (A.D. 659—720), Kamatari's son,

¹ *Dayu* I, p. 1274, -3, s.v. *kokushi* Washio, p. 1040, s.v. *Ben-en. Genkō Shakusho*, Ch. VII, p. 750.

² Washio, p. 735, s.v. *Soseki*

³ Cf. Washio, p. 43, s.v. *Egen* (a *Rinzai* priest).

⁴ *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. X, p. 168

⁵ *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. XII, p. 206

⁶ *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. XIII, p. 225.

returned to the Emperor the subtenance-fief of 5000 houses. His Majesty gave 2000 back to the family, and divided the remaining 3000 among the "*kokubunji* of all the provinces", in order to defray expenses for the erection of a Buddha image, sixteen feet high.¹ This is the first time the term *kokubunji* appears in Japanese history. Two months later (III 24) the famous ordinance was issued establishing the *Konkwōmyō-Shūtennō-gokokuji* and the *Hokke-metsuzai no tera*, followed in A.D. 744 (VII 23), 747 (XI 7) and 749 (VII 13) by regulations as to their incomes from fiefs and regular taxes.²

In A.D. 748 (VIII) the Emperor Shōmu ordered the *Saishōōkyō* to be expounded at each Summer Retreat (*ango*) of all the provinces (see above, Ch. IX, § 3, not mentioned in the annals).

In A.D. 758 (Temptō-hōji 2) (VII 28) the Empress Kōken issued an ordinance (three days before her abdication) commanding all provinces to copy 30 *kwan* of the *Kongō-hannyakyo* (Nanjō Nos 10—15, only 14—21 leaves, so it meant 30 copies) and to deposit 20 of these in the *kokubunji* and 10 in the *kokubunji-niji* (evidently one copy for each of the monks and nuns), in order that they might be constantly used and read by means of the *tendoku* system as secondary text, together with the *Konkwōmyō-Saishōōkyō*. This agrees with the statement, made in the ordinance of A.D. 741 (III 24), that the *Saishōōkyō* was to be read by *tendoku* on the 8th day of every month also by the nuns of the *Hokke-metsuzai no tera*. The Empress Kōken added that the copying, dedicating and reading of the *Kongō-hannyakyo* in the provincial monasteries and nunneries was to be done "for the sake of the Repose of the Court and the Great Peace of the Realm".³

As to the monks of the *kokubunji*, they were *Sanron*, *Hossō*

¹ *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. xiv, p. 232.

² *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. xiv, pp. 233 sq., xv, p. 252; xvii, pp. 272 sq., xvii, p. 288, 4000 *chō* to the main *kokubunji* of Yamato, 1000 to the other *kokubunji* and to the main nunnery *Hokkeji*, and 400 to the other *kokubun-nji*.

³ *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. xx, p. 347.

and *Kegon* priests, but since the Shōwa era (A.D. 834—848) *Tendai* and *Shingon* priests were also allowed to share this honour, and from the Kamakura era monks of the *Zen* and the *Jōdo* sects too were often appointed to this function.¹

In A.D. 822 (Kōnin 13, VII 1) on account of the bad condition of the crops, caused by the drought, the Emperor Saga ordered *kekwa* (Repentance) of seven days and seven nights to be performed in the Provincial Monasteries and Nunneries (*kokubun-niji*) as well as the purification of the Shintō shrines.² These were, as remarked above (Ch. VIII, § 15, p. 316), *Kichijō-kekwa*, and the text was the *Saishōōkyō*.

In the same year the *kōshū* of all provinces had to examine the *kokubunji* of both kinds. In the Engi era (A.D. 901—923) the domains of these monasteries and nunneries produced from 5000 to 50000 bundles of rice.³

In A.D. 1290 the Emperor Go-Uda (who had abdicated in A.D. 1287) recompensed the *Kairitsu* (*Vinaya*) priest *Shinkū* (信空, A.D. 1231—1316) of *Saidaiji* (西大寺), one of the seven great temples of Nara, who had initiated him and held a *Bommō-fusatsu* or “*Uposatha* (Sabbath) according to the *Brahmajāla-sūtra*” (Nanjō No. 1087) in the Imperial Palace, by making all *kokubunji* branch-temples of *Saidaiji*.⁴

The *kokubunji* were always situated near the central seat of the provincial government, with which they cooperated in ruling people and priests. In the course of time the nunneries and also many of the monasteries were destroyed by calamities or decayed and were not rebuilt, the *Dayu* (11) gives a long list of places (villages) where they had their sites.

The so-called *rokujūroku-bu* or *rokubu* (六部), “66 or 6 copies”, are the pilgrims who have made a vow to travel about

¹ *Dayu*, I, p. 1282, 2, s.v. *kokubunji*

² *Nihon kiryaku*, *Zempen*, Ch. XIV, p. 439

³ *Engishiki*, Ch. XXVI, Main taxes, pp. 777 sqq

⁴ *Washio*, p. 447, 1, s.v. *Shinkū*.

with 66 copies of the Lotus *sūtra*, in order to sacrifice a copy in one sacred place of every province. This is called *nōkyō suru* (納經); its origin is not clear. Probably it dates from the 13th century (the *Taiheiki* mentions it, written about A.D. 1382); they began with *Saidaiji* and used to visit the different *kokubunji*.¹

§ 7, C. *The last years of Shōmu Tennō's reign*
(A.D. 741—749).

After this digression concerning the *kokubunji* and the *kokushi* we return to our present subject: the *Saishōōkyō*, which was so closely connected with those provincial state sanctuaries.

In A.D. 741 (intercalary III 24) one copy of the *Saishōōkyō* and one of the *Hokkekyō*, written in golden characters, were presented to the *Hachiman jingū* at Usa, 18 persons were admitted into the religious order, 5 horses were given to the temple, and the building of a three-storied pagoda was commanded. This was all done in order to present prayers and thank-offerings with regard to former lives (*shikutō*, 宿禱) to Hachiman (who, as seen above, Ch. VIII, § 14, p. 298, was welcomed 8 years later, in 749, XII 18, to the Capital, where a shrine was built for him within the compound of the Palace).²

In A.D. 743 (I 13) the monks were invited to the *Konkwōmyōji* (i. e. *Tōdayū*) in order to read (by *tendoku*) the *Konkwōmyō Saishōōkyō* for seven times seven days, from the fourteenth of the first month to the fourth of the third. During all that time it was forbidden to kill living beings and to eat various kinds of food. This was done to promote the prosperity of the temples, the happiness of the Imperial House and the people, and the purity of the country. It was a special meeting, led by

¹ *Dayūten*, p. 1832, 1, s v. *rokujiūroku-bu*; *Dayū*, III, p. 4615, 2, s v. *rokubu*; I, p. 1282, 3, s.v. *kokubunji*.

² *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. XIV, p. 235.

49 eminent priests, respectfully consulted by the Emperor; and during that time all the monks of the country had to read the same *sūtra* in their monasteries.¹

In A.D. 745 (Tempyō 17) (V 2) an earthquake occurred which evidently was the reason that the Emperor ordered *tendoku* of the *Saishōōkyō* during seven days in all the temples of the capital.² On the tenth day of the same month the *Daihannyakyō* was read in the Palace, on account of daily earthquakes. In the ninth month, when the Emperor was ill, we read of the *Daihannyakyō* and the *Yakushikyō*, but the *Ninnōkyō* is not mentioned; as stated above, the latter *sūtra* was used in the two following years.³

In A.D. 747 (Tempyō 19) (XI 7) the Emperor Shōmu issued a proclamation with regard to the provincial monasteries and nunneries, established in A.D. 741. In his opinion the severe earthquakes were due to the fact that the local authorities had been neglectful in fulfilling the ordinance. Therefore he sent three high officials to examine the locality and the condition of the monasteries, and ordered that within three years the pagodas and *kondō* (golden halls) and cells for the monks should be ready; everything having been done, the local authorities had to add 90 *chō* of rice-land to the sustenance-fief of the monasteries and 40 to that of the nunneries.⁴

In A.D. 749 (Tempyō Shōhō 1, I 1), the last year of his reign, the Emperor Shōmu ordered *kekwa* (rites of repentance) and reading of the *Konkwōmyō* (*Saishōōkyō*) in all the temples of the Empire, and throughout the country forbade the killing of living beings during the first seven days of the year.⁵ As remarked above (Ch. VIII, § 15, p 311), the connection with

¹ *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. xv, pp. 242 sq

² *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. xvi, p. 258

³ *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. xvi, p. 261.

⁴ *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. xvii, p 273.

⁵ *Ibid*, p. 277.

the *Savarnaprabhāsa-sūtra* proves that these rites were *Kichūō-kekwa*; as to the *sūtra*, after A.D. 734 I-tsing's translation having superseded that of Dharmarakṣa, we may be sure that the *Konkōmyō-Saishōkyō*¹ was the text of this New-year's festival.

In the same year (VII 2) the Emperor abdicated in favour of his daughter, the Empress Kōken.

§ 7, D. *The Empress Kōken* (A.D. 749 VII 2—758 VIII 1)
(Takano. Shōtoku, A.D. 765 I 1—770 VIII 4)

This Empress, who, after having abdicated in A.D. 758, returned to the Throne in A.D. 765 (I 1) as Shōtoku Tennō (often indicated as Takano Tennō), cherished a fervent belief in Buddha's doctrine. She paid, however, more attention to the *Nirvāṇa-sūtra* (A.D. 750, 753, 756, 757, 770) than to the *Saishōkyō*, which we do not find specially mentioned during her first reign, except in an extensive address to the Buddha *Vairocana* of *Tōdaiji*, A.D. 749, IV 1.¹

In A.D. 758 (VII 28), two days before her abdication, she ordered all the provinces to promote the peace of the realm by each copying 30 chapters (i.e. copies) of the *Kongō-hannyakyo* and presenting twenty of them to the *kokubunji* and ten to the *kokubun-niji* (the same numbers as those of the monks and nuns), as a permanent addition to the *Konkōmyō-Saishōkyō*, to be read by means of the *tendoku* system. -

During her second reign the *Saishōkyō* is mentioned in three Imperial proclamations (A.D. 767 VIII 16; 769, V 29, X 1).

In her proclamation of A.D. 767 (VIII 16) she states that in the first month of that year the high-priests of all the great temples had been invited and ordered to explain the *Saishōkyō* during the second seven days of that month (I 8—14, the same

¹ Ibid., p. 279.

² *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. xx, p. 347.

days on which in later times the *Saishō-e* took place), and that the *Kichijō-kekwa* had been performed (in all the *Kokubun-Kwōmyōji*) during those same days. This meritorious act was held to cause great peace of the country, seasonable weather, good crops, and happiness of the people ¹

In her proclamation of A D 769 (V 29) she praises the wonderful, divine power of *Vairocana Buddha*, the *Saishōkyō*, *Kwanzeon Bosatsu* and the *gohō zenjin* (護法善神, "Good Spirits that protect the Law") *Bonten* (*Brahma*), *Taishaku Ten* (*Indra*), and the Four Great Deva Kings ²

Finally, in the third proclamation (A D 769, X 1) she refers to the *Ōbō shōron* section (王法正論品) of the *Saishōkyō* (VIII 20, in reality entitled *Shōbō* (正法) *shōron-bon*, the term *Ōbō shōron* is found in the title of Nanjō No. 1006 and in the abbreviated form of the title of Nanjō No. 1200), which she devoutly and respectfully read ³

In A D 770 (I 15) she held a *Ninnōe* in the Palace, gave presents to the monks of the 12 great temples (IV 3), and ordered *tendoku* of the *Daihannyakyō* during seven days (VII 17—23) in all the temples of the capital (against pestilence) ⁴ In the same year (IV 26), "when the civil war, which had lasted eight years, had been brought to an end, the Empress made an extensive vow and ordered the production of one million small three-storey pagodas, each four *sun* five *bu* ($4\frac{1}{2}$ inches) high, and three *sun* five *bu* ($3\frac{1}{2}$ inches) in diameter at the base. Within each of them the *kombon*, *jushin*, *sōrin*, and *rokudo daran* (根本,

¹ *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch xxviii, pp 470, 480 The term 二七 is either a mistake or it must mean "the second seven days", cf p 470 (A D. 767, I 8), Ch xxxii, p 565

² *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch xxix, p 506 Cf *Genkō Shakusho*, Ch xxiii, p 1030, A D. 769 VII, the God Hachiman's words to the Empress, *tendoku* of 10000 copies of the *Saishōkyō*

³ *Ibid*, p. 514.

⁴ *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch xxx, pp 519, 521, 525.

心, 相輪, 六度陀羅尼) were placed. When this meritorious work was finished, she distributed them among the temples, and bestowed divers titles of nobility to 157 officials and others who had taken part in the work".¹

According to the temple record of *Tōdaiji* the distribution of the pagodas, containing the charms, took place in A.D. 764 (Tempyō hōji 8), and the name of the Empress is there given as Kōken (her previous reign, A.D. 749—758). In A.D. 764 she wore the title of Takano Tennō and banished the Emperor Junnin (X 9), but she had not yet returned to the throne (765, I 1). The same temple record gives Jingo keun 1 (A.D. 767) as the date when two small halls for the pagodas were built on the East and West sides of *Tōdaiji*. Probably the Empress made the vow shortly before the beginning of her second reign, during the civil war, and the work was completed in A.D. 770. According to the temple record the pagodas were distributed among ten temples, *Tōdaiji* and nine other important temples may have obtained them much earlier than the other shrines. "In each was preserved a charm (*dhāraṇī*) from the *Muku jōkwō dai-daranī kyō* (無垢淨光大陀羅尼經)". This is the *Vimalasūddhaprabhāsa-mahādhāraṇī-sūtra*, "Sūtra on the great magic formulae of the stainless, pure light" (Nanjō No. 380, translated A.D. 705 by Mi-t'ō-shan, 彌陀山, *Mitraśānta* (?) from Tukhāra, App. II, no. 147). In this *sūtra* the Buddha says that whoever wishes to gain power from this magic formula, or save his life, or blot out his sins, and obtain salvation, must make many copies of it and place these in pagodas of clay. These pagodas must be honoured with offerings and incense and flowers, and seven circumambulations must be made around them, while the *dhāraṇī* is recited.

With regard to these earliest block prints, a number of which are preserved in *Hōryūji*, together with the little pagodas in which

¹ Ibid, Ch. xxx, p. 522 The names of the magic formulae are: "Original *dhāraṇī*", and "*dhāraṇī* of the compassionate heart, of the nine wheels on the top of pagodas (*sōrin*), and of the six *pāramitās*".

they were contained (three are in the possession of the British Museum, and one is in the museum at Leipsic), we may refer the reader to Carter's interesting work on "*The invention of printing in China*", where two of the charms are reproduced.¹

§ 7, E. *The Emperors Junnin (Awaji haitei)*
(A D. 758 VIII 1—764 X 9) and Kōnin (A D 770 X 1—781 IV 1).

Junnin Tennō, known in history by the name of *Awaji haitei*, 淡路廢帝, "The Emperor banished to Awaji", was on the Throne between the two reigns of the Empress Kōken. Apparently the constant rivalry between his minister Emi no Oshikatsu (Fujiwara no Nakamaro), by whom he was greatly influenced, and the *Hossō* priest Dōkyō (道鏡), who dominated the Empress Takano (Kōken, Shōtoku) and in A.D. 764 caused Junnin Tennō's banishment to Awaji, in these days impeded the development of Buddhism.

In a proclamation of A.D. 758 (VIII 18) the *Mahāpāramitā*, the "Mother of all the Buddhas" (represented mainly by the *Dathannyakyō*, Nanjō No. 1), is praised as expelling the demons of drought, pestilence and war.²

In A.D. 759 (Tempyō hōji 3, VI 22) the councillor of state Chinu and the Shōsōzu Jikun (慈訓), a *Hossō* priest of Kōfukuji, reported to the Throne, that the yearly *kekwa* of the first month (the *Kichijō-kekwa*, see above, Ch VIII, § 15, p. 311), performed in all the Buddhist temples of the empire, had lost their blessing power, because the monks and nuns in the provinces tried greedily to obtain as many official gifts as possible, without fulfilling their duty. Therefore they requested the Emperor, henceforth to stop these gifts.³

¹ Thomas Francis Carter, *The invention of printing in China and its spread westward*, New York 1925, Ch. vii, pp. 33—38.

² *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. xxi, p. 355.

³ *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. xxii, p. 370

In A.D. 760 (Tempyō hōji 4, II 29) *Ninnō-e* were held in the Palace and in *Tōdaiji*;¹ in the same year (intercalary IV 23) *tendoku* of the *Daihannyakyō* took place in the Palace,² and in V 9 *sūtras* were read in the six great temples of Nara, in order to suppress the prevailing pestilence.³ In the same year (VI 7) died the *Kwōtaigō* or Empress Dowager, i.e. Kwōmyō Kwōgō (A.D. 701—760), Fujiwara no Fubito's daughter, Shōmu Tennō's Consort and Kōken Tennō's mother. On the 7×7th day after her death (VII 26) vegetarian entertainments of priests took place in *Tōdaiji* and in all the small temples of the capital; in every province a picture of *Amutābha's* Paradise was made and monks and nuns, distinguished inhabitants of the province, were caused to copy the *Shōsan-jōdo-kyō*, "*Sūtra* in praise of the Pure Land" (Nanjō No 199) (translated in A.D. 650 by Huen-tsang). These pictures and copies of the *sūtra* were offered in the *Kokubun-Kwōmyōji* of every province.⁴ Towards the end of the year (XII 12) the Emperor issued an ordinance to the effect that henceforth the graves of the Great Empress Dowager and of the Empress Dowager (Grandmother and Mother of the Empress Kōken) should be called Imperial Mausolea (*misasagi*) and that the anniversaries of their death (*kiyitsu*) should be celebrated as days of national mourning (*kokki*) with entertainments of monks (*sessai*) according to the rule.⁵ A curious specimen of the morals of the monks of that time is the fact stated by the annalist sub XII 22, namely the murder of a monk of *Yakushiji* by another monk of the same sanctuary, who had gambled and quarrelled with him, and who was punished with expulsion from the religious order and exile to Riku-oku province.⁶

In A.D. 761 (VI 7) the *shūkisai* (周忌齋) or vegetarian

¹ Ibid, p 379

² Ibid, p 380

³ Ibid, p 381.

⁴ *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch xxiii, p 384.

⁵ Ibid, p. 387

⁶ Ibid, p 387.

entertainment given to celebrate the first anniversary of the Empress Dowager's death took place in the *Amida-jōdo-in*, an Amitābha chapel erected for this purpose in the south-western corner of the compound of *Hokkeji*, the main *kokubun-nyū* at Nara. In all *kokubunji* an image of *Amida* was made, sixteen feet high, and those of his attendant Bodhisattvas, *Kwannon* and *Seishi* (cf above, Ch. VIII, § 16, B, p 325) In *Yamashina-dera* (the *Hossō* sanctuary *Kōfukuji* in Nara) this anniversary had to be celebrated yearly by expounding the *Bommōkyō* (梵網經, *Brahmajāla-sūtra*, Nanjō No. 1087), for which ceremony the Emperor presented to the temple 30 *chō* of rice-fields, situated south of the capital. He further presented 10 *chō* of rice-fields to *Hokkeji* and ordered that henceforth on this anniversary and the six following days ten priests should be invited to that nunnery and caused to worship the Buddha *Amitābha*.¹

The same year (VIII 12) Takano Tennō and the Emperor went to *Yakushiji*, where they worshipped the Buddha *Bhaisajyaguru* and listened to Chinese music in the court-yard; they presented the monks with a thousand rolls of silk.²

In A.D. 763 (V 28), when drought prevailed, no Buddhist measures were taken to put an end to this calamity, but *gohei* were sent to the district Shintō gods of the Home provinces and a black horse was presented to the Shintō god of *Nibu-kawa-kami*, the famous rain-god in Yamato province.³

Thus we see that this Emperor considered the *Mahāpāramitā* and its *sūtra* (the *Dathannyakyō*), the *Amitābha* cult and one of its holy texts in praise of him, the *Brahmajāla-sūtra*, the *Ninnō-kyō* and the Medicine Buddha to be powerful protectors of the living and the dead, but during his reign the *Saishōōkyō* and the *Kichijō-kekwa* were neglected. The Empress Takano (Shōtoku),

¹ Ibid, p. 391.

² Ibid, p. 393.

³ With regard to the custom of offering horses to the rain-gods cf the present writer's *Dragon in China and Japan*, Ch III, § 2.

however, who two days after Emi no Oshikatsu's death (A.D. 764, IX 20) issued a proclamation in praise of the *Hossō* priest Dōkyō Zenji, to whom she gave the title of *Oho-omi Zenji* (大臣禪師) with all the power of a Prime Minister,¹ and soon (X 9) banished the Emperor to Awaji,² spoke of the *Saishōōkyō* in the three ordinances mentioned above (§ 7, D, p. 456).

After her death (A.D. 770, VIII 4) *sūtras* were read on behalf of her soul, on the first seventh day in *Tōdaiji* and *Saidaiji* (*Kegon* and *Hossō*; *Saidaiji* afterwards *Kairitsu*), on the second in *Yakushiji* (*Hossō*), on the third in *Gwangōji* (*Sanron*), on the fourth in *Daianji* (*Sanron*), on the fifth a vegetarian entertainment was given (*sessai*) in *Yakushiji*, on the sixth in *Saidaiji*, and on the seventh in *Yamashina-dera* (*Kōfukuji*) (*Hossō*); on the last day the monks and nuns within the territories of every province held a service and performed *tendoku* of *sūtras* (especially the *Saishōōkyō* and the *Hokkekyō*) in the *Konkōmyō* and *Hokke kokubunji* and *kokubun-niji*.³

In A.D. 771 (Hōki 2, I 13) the Emperor Kōnin (A.D. 770 X 1—781 IV 1) stopped the *Kichijō-kekwa* of all the provinces (I 8—14),⁴ and (V 29) instituted the celebration of the anniversary of the death of his father, Prince Shiki (whom he gave the title of Tawara (no) Tennō), by means of a vegetarian entertainment to be given in *Kawara-dera* (*Gufukuji*), VIII 9.⁵

In the same year (X 27) the *Tuṣita* Hall (*Tosotsuten no dō*) of *Saidaiji* was built.⁶ In A.D. 772 (III 6) ten distinguished priests were appointed *jūzenji*, 十禪師 ("Ten Dhyāna-Masters"). This body of ten priests, who became lifelong functionaries of the Court, was afterwards called *Naikubu* (内供奉) *jūzenji*, because

¹ *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. xxv, pp. 425 sq.

² *Ibid*, pp. 430 sq.

³ *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. xxx, pp. 527—531.

⁴ *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. xxxi, p. 539.

⁵ *Ibid*, p. 546.

⁶ *Ibid*, p. 550.

they performed the Buddhist services in the Imperial Palace. In China the function of *Naikubu* had been instituted lately, in the Chi-teh era (A.D. 756—758) and in A.D. 759, afterwards, in A.D. 780, the Chinese Emperor presented a purple robe to the priest Yuen-chao and a sustenance-hief of three hundred houses, at the same time nominating him *naikubu* at the Court. In Japan the priests of the mystic doctrines, *Shingon* and *Tendai* (mystic branch), were those who afterwards had the *naikubu* function and performed the principal services in the Palace.¹

In A.D. 772 (IV 29) the Western pagoda of *Saidaiji* (the last of the seven Great Temples of Nara, built in A.D. 765 by the Empress Shōtoku) shook. This was ascribed by divination to a curse, due to the fact that in building the pagoda trees were used belonging to the Shintō shrine of Ono in Shiga district, Ōmi province.²

In the same year (VI 15) *Ninnō-e* were held in the Palace, in the large and small Buddhist temples of the capital, and in the *Kokubun-konkwōmyōji* of all provinces.³ Five months later (XI 10) the Emperor, wishing to save the country from the constant famine caused by the storms and rains which had spoiled the crops, re-established the *Kichyō-kekwa* of the first month, which thenceforth had to be celebrated yearly for seven days in that month (I 8—14) in all the *kokubunji* of the empire.⁴

In A.D. 773 (VII 10) worship was paid to the Shintō gods of pestilence (*ekijin*, *ekigami*) in all provinces,⁵ and in the same month (VII 27) presents were bestowed on the nuns and others, who served at the vegetarian entertainment given on the anniversary of the Empress Shōtoku's death, the *shūki-gosaie* (also

¹ *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. xxxii, p. 557; *Dayūten*, p. 921, 3, s v *jūzenji*, *Dayū*, III, p. 3530, 3, s v *naikubu*.

² *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. xxxii, p. 560

³ *Ibid*, p. 561.

⁴ *Ibid*, p. 565.

⁵ *Ibid*, p. 570. Cf p. 587, A.D. 775, VIII 22, the same worship in the five Home provinces.

called *shūki-misae*).¹ Towards the end of the year (XII 25) the Emperor issued an ordinance, stating that the increase of "fields of felicity" depended on the vast saving power of the Buddha's doctrine, and that the happiness of the dynasty was sustained by the divine merit of Great Compassion. For this reason he had followed the text of the *Yakushikyō* and respectfully invited wise Buddhist priests to a vegetarian entertainment (*sessai*) and a religious service (*gyōdō*, *pradakṣiṇa* circumambulations, performed at all great Buddhist festivals around the main image, *honzon*) In accordance with the same *sūtra*'s words with regard to the liberation of all kinds of living beings, the Emperor laid stress upon the great importance attached by him to this act, and put it into practice in the broadest sense of the word, liberating animals (*hōjō*) as well as men (amnesty)²

In A.D. 774 (II 3) *sūtras* were read for seven days in order to expel the plague, which in all provinces caused much suffering.³ In the fourth month (IV 11) this calamity still prevailed, and an ordinance of the Emperor commanded the people, men and women, old and young, to take refuge in the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā* (*sūtra*), i.e. to the *Daihannyakyō* (Nanjō No. 1), constantly thinking upon and reading this *sūtra* caused the countries to be free from pestilence and gave longevity to mankind.⁴

In A.D. 775 (IX 12) the Emperor Kōnin ordered *tendoku* of *sūtras* and *gyōdō* to be practised on the 13th day of the 10th month, his birthday by the monks and nuns of all sanctuaries; on X 19 200 monks were invited to the Palace and the Court chapel to read the *Daihannyakyō*.⁵ The following year the same *sūtra* was read there by 600 monks, and also in A.D. 777 (III 21, with 100 *shamū*, *śrāmaṇeras*).⁶ Thereafter we do not hear any

¹ Ibid., p. 571, cf. Ch. XL, p. 774 (A.D. 791, V 28, VI 3).

² Ibid., p. 572

³ *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. xxxiii, p. 574

⁴ Ibid., p. 578

⁵ Ibid., p. 590.

⁶ *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. xxxiv, pp. 596, 603.

more of Buddhist ceremonies during this Emperor's reign, not even on account of his illness, which led him to abdicate in A.D. 781 (IV 1) and caused his death eight months later (XII 23).

In A.D. 780 (Hōki 11, I 20) he devoted a last ordinance to Buddhism, which was written in a very pessimistic mood. The priests, he had heard, acted exactly like laymen; the higher ranks behaved contrary to the unsurpassable doctrine of kindness and compassion, and the lower monks transgressed the laws of the state. Neither the *sōgō* (the three highest ranks) nor the *kokushi* of the provinces, who had to rule the clergy, did their duty. They must improve this, and practise the *gokoku no shōbō*, the *Saddharma* which protected the country.¹

The *Saishōōkyō* was not mentioned, but this was, of course, the text of the *Kichijō-kekwa*, performed in the *kokubunji*.

§ 7, F. *The Emperor Kwammu* (A.D. 781, IV 1—806, III 17, his death).

After Kōnin Tennō's death (A.D. 781, XII 23) *sūtras* were read on behalf of his soul, on the first seventh day in the seven great temples of Nara, and on the six other seventh days in all the Buddhist sanctuaries of the capital.

His eldest son and successor, Kwammu Tennō, further ordered that on the 7 × 7th day after his predecessor's death in all provinces of the country a vegetarian entertainment of the monks and nuns of the *kokubunji* should be arranged, in order to promote the deceased Emperor's happiness after death (*tsuifuku*, 追福);² and on the first anniversary of his death the monks and nuns of all the *kokubunji* had to read *sūtras* (*Saishōōkyō* and *Hokkekyō*).³ Thenceforth for many years we do not read

¹ *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. xxxvi, p. 636

² *Ibid.*, p. 671.

³ *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. xxxvii, p. 682. There was *sessai* in *Daijiri*, *Nihon kiryaku*, *zempo*, Ch. xiii, p. 358

about Buddhist ceremonies. It is evident that the Emperor Kwammu did not pay much attention to Buddhist doctrine. In times of heavy drought, as in A.D. 788 (Enryaku 7, IV 3), messengers were sent to the Home provinces in order to pray for rain (apparently to the Shintō gods), and (IV 10) a black horse was presented to the Raingod of *Nibu-kawakami*, this was also done in A.D. 791, VI, 26, and VII 1 *gohei* were sent to all the Shintō gods of the *kinai*. V 2 messengers went to the Great Shrine of Ise and to the famous Shintō gods of the whole country, and in A.D. 790 to avert this calamity the Shintō deities were again invoked. No *sūtras* were mentioned in those critical times.¹ In A.D. 789 (XII 23), only five days before the death of the Empress Dowager, the Emperor ordered that to save her life the *Dai-hannyakyō* should be read for seven days in all the temples of the country, and after her death (XII 28) for the peace of her soul *sūtras* were read on the usual days in the *kokubunji* and *kokubun-niji* and in the other temples. On the first anniversary of her death a vegetarian entertainment was given in *Daianji*.² In A.D. 790 (intercalary III 10) he caused 200 men to enter the Buddhist priesthood, because his Consort was ill, but again this measure came very late, for she died that same day!³ In the ninth month, however, *sūtras* were read in the seven temples of Nara, because the Crown-prince suffered from want of sleep and appetite (IX 3).⁴

In A.D. 794 (Enryaku 13, IX 3) this Emperor began to pay more attention to Buddhism, for then he forbade for three days the killing of living beings throughout the country because he wished to have the *Ninnōkyō* expounded, and on the 29th of that month he invited a hundred monks to explain that *sūtra* in the New Palace (of Kyōto) ⁵

¹ *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. xxxix, p. 739, Ch. xl, pp. 763, 775

² *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. xl, pp. 755 sqq., p. 768, cf. p. 774.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 761

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 765

⁵ *Nihon kiryaku, zempo*, Ch. xiii, p. 372.

In A.D. 796 (Enryaku 15, X 27) the same Emperor during seven days caused forty priests to perform within the Palace the *Yakushi kekwa* or "Repentance in honour of the Buddha Bhaishajyaguru" ¹

In A.D. 797 (V 19) the *Kongō-hannya-kyō* was read by means of the *tendoku* system, in the Palace and in that of the Crown-prince, on account of strange events (considered to be evil omens); the next day two monks were sent to Awaji province, to perform *tendoku* and *kekwa* ("Repentance"), in order to ask forgiveness of the spirit of Sudō Tennō (崇道). This was the posthumous title which he had conferred upon his younger brother Sawara Shinnō (早良), his former heir apparent, who in A.D. 785 (IX 27) had been banished to Awaji, because he had ordered the murder of the Chūnagon Fujiwara no Tanetsugu. The prince had refused all drink and food, and, having died at Takase-bashi on the way to his place of exile, was buried in Awaji. When in A.D. 792 his successor fell ill, the diviners explained this to be a curse of the "Cast-away Crown-prince" (*hai-taishi*), and the Emperor, who had endeavoured to appease his angry spirit by conferring upon him the posthumous title of Sudō Tennō (A.D. 792), sent eminent messengers to Awaji in order to implore his forgiveness at his tomb, which was called a *misasagi* or Imperial tomb (A.D. 792, VI 10). ² The next time we read of him is in A.D. 797 (V 20); this time two priests were sent to Awaji to perform *tendoku* and *kekwa* at his grave. In A.D. 805 (I 14), when the Emperor was ill (died A.D. 806, III 17), he ordered a Buddhist temple to be built in Awaji on behalf of Sudō Tennō's soul, and all temples and pagodas of the country to be repaired, at the same time he requested the *daihōshū* Shōgu (a *Hōsso* priest) to let loose falcons and dogs (because these were used in hunting, and to liberate living beings was a meri-

¹ *Nihon kōki*, Ch. V, p. 5, *Nihon kiryaku, zempo*, Ch. XIII, p. 377.

² *Nihon kiryaku, zempo*, Ch. XIII, p. 369

torious deed).¹ A month later (II 6) he tried to appease the angry spirits of *Inoue no Naishinnō* and her son, worshipped in *Reianji* near Nara. The former was the Emperor Shōmu's daughter and Kōnin Tennō's Consort, who in A.D. 772 had been found guilty of *ku* sorcery (巫蠱)² and, after having been degraded and confined in Yamato, had died with her son, the heir apparent, who followed her in degradation and death.³ The Emperor Kwammu, who evidently was very afraid of those spirits of members of the Imperial House who had died in anger, in order to appease them had erected *Reianji* or "Spirit-rest-temple". And during his illness, which began in A.D. 804 (XII 25) and which terminated in his death (A.D. 806, III 17), he tried by every means to pacify them. Thus in A.D. 805 (II 6) he ordered 150 monks to read the *Daihannyakyō* in his Palace and in that of the Heir Apparent (*Haru no miya*, "Spring Palace", generally called *Tōgū*, "Eastern Palace"), and he had a small store-house made in *Reianji* in which he caused 30 sheaves of rice and 300 pounds of cotton to be laid in store in order to soothe the angry spirits of the Empress and the Crown-prince.⁴ Two months later (IV 5) he ordered all provinces to build small store-houses on behalf of Sudō Tennō's spirit and to endeavour to obtain his forgiveness by offerings of 40 sheaves of rice and *gohei* and by national mourning (*kokki*, 國忌)⁵ He also appointed an official to direct the re-burial of that prince (IV 11)⁶ and presented Chinese objects to his tomb (VII 27) (on the previous day he had sent messengers with *gohei* to the famous Shintō gods of the Home provinces in order to pray for rain; his presenting Chinese objects to the three *misasagi* (Imperial Mausolea) of

¹ *Nihon kōki*, Ch. XIII, p. 393.

² Cf. De Groot, *Religious System of China*, Vol. V, p. 826. sorcery by means of a pot with insects and reptiles

³ *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. XXXII, p. 557.

⁴ *Nihon kōki*, Ch. XII, p. 44

⁵ *Nihon kōki*, Ch. XII, p. 47

⁶ *Nihon kōki*, Ch. XII, p. 47.

Tenchū Tennō, Kōnin Tennō and "Sudō Tennō" probably had the same reason).¹ In A.D. 806 (III 17), on the very day of the Emperor's death, a last attempt to save his life was made by ordering the monks of the *kokubunji* of all provinces to read the *Kongō hannyakyō* twice a year during seven special days in the middle of spring and autumn, i.e. in the second and eighth months, on behalf of Sudō Tennō's soul (the *Higan* festival, cf. above, Ch. VIII, § 18, p. 372).²

In A.D. 799 (Enryaku 18) (VI 27) 300 priests and 50 novices read the *Daihannyakyō* in the Imperial Palace, in the Crown-prince's palace and in the *Chōdō* (of the Palace)³

In A.D. 803 (Enryaku 22) (I 26) the Emperor Kwammu issued an ordinance concerning the *Hossō* and *Sanron* sects, which thenceforth should regularly "convert five men each" (度五人), i.e. they should obtain a fixed and equal number of new monks yearly.⁴

In A.D. 804 (Enryaku 23) (I 7) he showed his steadily increasing interest in Buddhist matters by promulgating a decree relating to the *sūtras* and *abhidharmas* to be read by the students of the *Sanron* and *Hossō* sects, few of whom devoted themselves to the study of the former, and many to that of the latter sect. He stated that in such a way the number of the monks could not be replenished regularly; and he ordered students of both sects to read the *sūtras* as well as the commentaries; as formerly the *Hokkekyō* and the *Saishōkyō* together, the *Kegonkyō* and the *Nehangyō* separately. If they studied them thoroughly, they could become monks; but if they only read the *abhidharmas* and not the *sūtras*, they could not be admitted into the religious order. They must learn the meaning of the texts, and not only the Chinese sounds; thenceforth this should be a constant rule.⁵

¹ *Nihon kōki*, Ch. XIII, p. 52.

² *Nihon kōki*, Ch. XIII, p. 62.

³ *Nihon kōki*, Ch. VIII, p. 25.

⁴ *Nihon kiryaku, zempo*, Ch. XIII, p. 388.

⁵ *Nihon kōki*, Ch. XII, p. 32.

Here we see that neither the *Daihannyakyō* nor the *Ninnōkyō* were considered as principal texts, to be studied by the young candidates for the priestly ranks; it was not until the ninth century that these two *sūtras* came to the fore. In 802 (I 13) by Imperial ordinance the Emperor Kwammu warned the priests of the *Sanron* and *Hossō* priests against the bad consequences of their rivalry; thenceforth two meetings should be held, in the first month the congregation devoted to the *Saishōōkyō*, in the tenth month the assembly connected with the *Yuimakyō* (*Saishō-e* and *Yuima-e*); the six sects should be purified in order to broaden their studies.¹ During his illness he not only (as seen above) endeavoured to appease the angry spirits of *Reianji* and *Sudō Tennō*, but also ordered *sūtra* reading by 69 virtuous monks in the *Ishigami-jinja*, and *Yakushi kekwa* ("Repentance") in all *kokubunji* (A.D. 805, II 10 and 19)² In the eighth month of A.D. 805 (VIII 9) the famous priest Saichō (最澄) (Dengyō Daishi, the founder of the *Tendai* sect in Japan), having returned from China, led a Repentance and *Sūtra* reading ceremony in the Palace, and presented Chinese Buddhist images to the Emperor; the next month (IX 17) His Majesty caused him to perform the *Vairocana ceremony* (毗盧遮那法, *Birushana-hō*) in the Palace³ In the tenth month (X 28) *sūtras* were read there for three days,⁴ and in the second month of the following year (A.D. 806, II 23), shortly before the Emperor's death, pictures of *Yakushi Butsu* and the *Hokkekyō* were copied, and 21 monks received a vegetarian entertainment in the Palace⁵ Thus the Emperor Kwammu, after having evidently been very critical and severe towards the Buddhist clergy, and not very devout with regard to its rites and doctrine, was at the end of his life sur-

¹ *Nihon kiryaku, zempo*, Ch XIII, p. 386

² *Nihon kiryaku, zempo*, Ch XIII, p. 394

³ *Nihon kōki*, Ch XIII, pp. 52 sq., *Nihon kiryaku, zempo*, Ch XIII, p. 395.

⁴ *Nihon kōki*, Ch XIII, p. 54.

⁵ *Nihon kōki*, Ch XIII, p. 61.

rounded by priests and holy texts, images and ceremonies! The ninth century had begun; Saichō and Kūkai (Dengyō Daishi and Kōbō Daishi) had returned from China, and appeared as powerful personages in the Japanese Buddhist world

§ 8 *The Saishōōkyō in later times.*

A *The Gosaie (御齋會) or Mi-saie ("Imperial vegetarian entertainment") or Saishōe or Konkōmyō-e, celebrated in the Daigokuden of the Imperial Palace, I 8—14 (A D. 802—1467).*

As stated above, the *Gosaie* was one of the *Nankyō san(n)e* or "Three Festivals of Nara", to wit. the *Yūmae* of *Kōfukuji* (X 10—16), the *Gosaie* of the *Daigokuden* in the Palace (I 8—14), and the *Saishōe* of *Yakushiji* (III 7—13)

The *Gosaie* was a festival intended to fulfill the Imperial vow (made originally by Shōmu Tennō, A D 737) to protect the State (*chūngō kokka*, 鎮護國家) during the new year. Buddhist priests were invited for a vegetarian entertainment, and requested to expound the *Saishōōkyō*, the festival took place in the *Daigokuden* and lasted seven days (I 8—14) On the first and the last days the Emperor came in person to listen to the expounding of the *sūtra*, and on the other days he sent a *benkwan*, an official of the *Dajōkwan* or Supreme Council of State, to take the official leadership. Moreover, on the last day the new priests were confirmed as such (*do suru*), this took place before the explaining of the *sūtra*, whereas after the conclusion of the ceremony the *kōshi* and the learned priests were invited to another building of the Palace, in order to discuss important points of doctrine in the presence of His Majesty This was the so-called *Uchi-rongi* (内論義) or "Inner Discussion", also called *Denjō* (殿上) *rongi*, "Palace Discussion", and *Tsugai-rongi* (番論

義), "Coupled discussions", because it was divided into five *ban* or couples of two subjects (*dai*) each, thus comprising ten subjects in all. Similar *rongi* were also held after the *Yuimae*, the *Hokke-e* of *Hieiizan* and other congregations, in order to enable the priests to put questions with regard to the explanation of the *sūtras*. The *kōshi* was not the only priest who answered, but for each of the five "couples" of subjects there was one priest who had to put the question and another who had the task of answering it. In the same way the Chinese Emperors (e.g. Wu Ti of the Liang dynasty, A.D. 502—549) appointed a so-called "general expounder" (都講, *tu-kang*) before Buddhist meetings devoted to the explanation of special *sūtras*, such as the *Yumakyō*, in order to discourse on difficult problems.

At the *Yuimae* of *Kōfukuji* and the *Saishōe* of *Yakushiji*, but not at the *Gosai*, there were nine, later (after A.D. 885) ten so-called *ryūgi*, appointed by the Emperor.¹ These *ryūgi* (豎義, 立義), "those who set up the meaning", were learned priests who solved the problems, treated in these congregations. Thus the degree of *Yuima-ryūgi* was the third of the *gokai* (五階) or "five degrees", which a priest must obtain before becoming *kōshi* of a province or of the *Yuima-e*, the first of the three important ceremonies, leading their *kōshi* to the rank of *sōgō* or high-priest (*risshi*, *sōzu*, *sōjō*). The *Tendai* sect held a "*Hokke-e no tsugai-rongi*" on *Hieiizan*, in imitation of the discussion after the *Gosai* in the Palace, with ten *śrāmaṇeras* discussing five "couples" of subjects in the presence of an Imperial messenger. This took place on the middle day of the festival, and each "couple" of subjects was discussed by two *shami* (*śrāmaṇeras*). In the thirteenth century the *Saishōkō*, celebrated in the *Sentō* (仙洞) palace (*Toba-in*), were also connected with a *tsugai-rongi*. The *Tendai* and *Shingon* sects called these discussions *rongi*, the Zen sect *mondō* ("asking and answering"). A *rongi* of

¹ *Dayū*, III, p. 4479, 1, s.v. *ryūgi*. Cf. below, Ch. xv, § 4, C (*Yuima-e*).

seven "couples" of subjects, held at the *shunshū mudokkyō* or "August reading of *sūtras* in Spring and Autumn", is mentioned in A.D. 1070, in a diary of that time.¹

In A.D. 737 (Tennyō 9, X 26) the Emperor Shōmu appointed the famous Sanron priest Dōji (道慈) *kōshi* and the priest Juzō *tokushi* of the first *Konkwōmyō-Saishōōkyō*-meeting in the *Daigokuden*, with one hundred *chōshu* (hearers) and one hundred *shamū* (*śrāmaneras*)²

In A.D. 767 (Jingo keiun 1, VIII 16) the Empress Shōtoku in a proclamation stated that in the first month of that year the high-priests of all the great temples had been invited and ordered to explain the *Saishōōkyō* during seven days (I 8—14), and that *Kichijō kekwa* had been performed (in all the *kokubun-kwōmyōji* of the country) during those same days. This caused great peace of the empire, seasonable weather, good crops, and happiness of the people.³

Two years later (A.D. 769, V 29) she praised the wonderful, divine power of *Vairocana Buddha*, the *Saishōōkyō*, *Kwanzeon Bosatsu*, *Brahma* and *Indra*, and the *Four Deva Kings*.⁴

These two *Tennō*, Shōmu and his daughter Kōken (Takano, Shōtoku), were devout worshippers of the Buddha *Vairocana*, whose celebrated sanctuary, the *Kegon* temple *Tōdaiji* (A.D. 728), and its huge *Daibutsu* (A.D. 746) were erected by Shōmu Tennō and visited and worshipped at with great pomp by his daughter (A.D. 752, IV 9, the *Daibutsu* completed; 754, I 5, 20000 lamps lighted in *Tōdaiji*, and the temple visited by the Empress; 756 VI 22, XII 5, performances in *Tōdaiji*, etc.). For this reason the main image (*honzon*) of the *Gosaie* was, in accordance with Shōmu Tennō's vow, that of *Vairocana*, and his attendant Bodhi-sattvas (*kyōji*) were *Avalokiteśvara* and *Ākāśagarbha* (*Kwannon*

¹ *Dayiten*, p 1234, 3, s v. *tsugat-rongi*, *Dayu*, III, p 4627, 1, s v *rongi*

² *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch XII, p 212, cf above, § 7, A, p 447

³ *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. xxviii, pp 470, 480, cf above, § 7, D, p. 457.

⁴ *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. xxix, p 506, cf. above, *ibid*.

and *Kokūzō*); seats were arranged for the *Four Deva Kings* (*Shutennō*). The priests of the ceremony were one *kōshi*, one *tokushi* (Reading master), and 30 hearers (*chōshu*), some of whom were high-priests (*sōgō*), others ordinary priests (*bonsō*). First they belonged to the six sects, afterwards also to the *Tendai* (of *Enryakuji* and the other *gogwanji*, "Imperial votive temples") and *Shingon* sects, together forming the *hasshū* or "eight sects".¹

The place of worship was the *Daigokuden*, but when in A.D. 876, IV 10 a serious fire, lasting several days, had destroyed this building, in 877 and 878 the service took place in the *Burakuden*, another part of the Palace.² In A.D. 1058 (Tenki 6) the *Daigokuden* was again burnt down, and during 14 years the office of the *Dajōkwan* was used for this ceremony. With regard to the Emperor's attendance at the meeting, this seems to have been omitted after the Chōhō era (A.D. 999—1004), although the other details remained the same even during the tumultuous times of Shirakawa Tennō's reign (A.D. 1073—1086, but he actually continued reigning until his death, A.D. 1129), when the *Tendai* branches, followers of Jikaku Daishi (Ennin, A.D. 794—864) and Chishō Daishi (Enchin, 814—891), monks of *Hieiizan* and *Mudera*, used to fight battles with mercenary troops (*sōhei*).

In A.D. 802 (Enryaku 21, I 13) the Emperor Kwammu instituted the annual New-year's *Saishōe* of the Palace together with the *Yuuma-e* of the tenth month (*Kōfukuji*). As seen above, he considered them to belong to the *Sanron* and *Hossō* sects, whose rivalry he deplored and endeavoured to stop by giving each of them an important task for the benefit of the country.³ We have seen (cf. § 5, p. 442) that in the 8th century it was not the *Sanron*, but the *Hossō* priests who wrote commentaries on the *Saishōōkyō*; although *Sanron* priests, such as Dōji in A.D. 737 and Gonsō in A.D. 810, expounded it in the Palace.

¹ *Dayu*, I, p. 1310, 3, s v *gosaue*.

² *Nihon kiryaku, zempo*, Ch. xviii, p. 664; Ch. xix, pp. 671, 678.

³ *Nihon kiryaku, zempo*, Ch. xiii, p. 386.

Although Kwammu Tennō had established this ceremony as an annual festival, we do not find it mentioned in the *Nihon kōki* or *Nihon kiryaku* as actually being celebrated earlier than A.D. 813 (Kōnin 4), when on the last day of the *Saishōōkyōkō* or "Expounding of the *Saishōōkyō*" (I 14) the Emperor Saga (A.D. 810—823) invited eleven priests of great learning to the Palace, in order to hold a *Rongi* (論義) or "Discussion" (on the *sūtra*) and to receive Imperial robes.¹ In A.D. 824 (I 14) "the priests of the *Saishōe* held a *Rongi* in the Palace; this was the custom"² In A.D. 832 (I 14) we read that the Emperor Junna went to the *Shishunden*, another building of the Palace, and requested the *Sōjō* to protect his life etc., ordered them to hold a *rongi*, and distributed Imperial robes among them.³ In the following year it is stated that the *sōgō* (the three highest ranks of the priests, *sōjō*, *sōzu* and *risshi*) were requested to hold a discussion, evidently in the *Shishunden*, where His Majesty went in person, and where the Imperial robes were distributed.⁴

In A.D. 834 (Shōwa 1, I 8) the *Saishōōkyō* was expounded in the *Daigokuden*, where it used to take place because, as stated above (Ch VIII, § 15, p. 315, *Kichijō-kekwa*), it was there that the Emperors ascended the throne and received the New-year's congratulations. The Emperor Nimmō (A.D. 833 III 6—850 III 21), accompanied by the Prince Imperial, came there to listen, and returned to the inner buildings after the expounding of the text.⁵ He was a faithful believer in the protecting power of the *Saishōōkyō*, for in the same year (II 10) he ascribed the peace and felicity of the people and abundant harvest to its unequalled influence, and ordered that all temples which had sustenance-fiefs, rice-fields and gardens and thus could afford to present gifts to the

¹ *Nihon kōki*, Ch. XXII, p. 144

² *Nihon kiryaku, zempo*, Ch. XIV, p. 447

³ *Ibid.*, p. 467.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 469

⁵ *Shoku Nihon kōki*, Ch. III, p. 187

monks, should be caused to perform the rites of the *Saishōōkyō* with great zeal.¹

Towards the end of the same year (XII 19) the *Daisōzu dentō-daihōshi* Kūkai (Kōbō Daishi) (died the following year, A.D. 835, III 21) pointed out in a memorial to the Throne the difference between the public and the mystic belief. There were, he said, two ways in which the Buddha had preached the Law. The first was shallow and abridged, the second mystic; the former consisted in the prose and the hymns (*gāthās*) of the *sūtras*, the latter in the magic formulae (*dhāraṇī*), found in the *sūtras*. The former were like medical books explaining the origin of the diseases and the nature of divers medicinal herbs; the latter were like the prescriptions as to their compounding and use, by means of which the disease was removed, and which were necessary to cure the patient and preserve his life. In the same way the reading of the text of the *Saishōōkyō*, as it was now done in expounding this *sūtra*, was not sufficient. He, Kūkai, spoke about its meaning. Neither the painting of the images, nor the defining of the altar (*kechidan*, cf. *kekka*), nor the rites were in accordance with the Law. The sweetness of the *amṛta* (*kanro*) (i.e. the Buddha's doctrine) was explained, but he was afraid that the taste of the *mandah* was lacking. This *mandah*, *daigo*, 醍醐, is an unctuous rich liquor skimmed from boiled butter or *ghu*, meton. the beneficent mildness of Buddha,² its taste is the highest of the five tastes, and it cures all diseases in a wonderful way; in accordance with the *Nirvāṇa sūtra* (Nanjō No. 113) the *Tendai* sect uses it as a metaphor for *Nirvāṇa*, the *Shingon* sect, in accordance with the *Śaṭpāramitā-sūtra* (Nanjō No. 1004), in this way indicates the *Dhāraṇī-piṭaka*.³ Therefore he humbly addressed this petition to His Majesty, that thenceforth the *sūtra* should be explained according to the Law of the *sūtras*, during seven days,

¹ Ibid, p. 190

² Wells Williams, *Chun. Dict.*, p. 883, s.v. 醍醐.

³ *Dayūten*, p. 1134, 2, s.v. *daigo*; *Dayū*, III, p. 3150, 2, s.v. *daigo*.

and that 27 priests and 27 *śrāmaneras* should be specially chosen for this ceremony, which should take place in a separate room, adorned for the occasion. The images of the saints were to be arranged in a row, the offering utensils placed in due order, and magic formulae (*shūngon*) read. In this way the public and the secret paths would unite (the two parts of) the original will of the Buddha, much felicity would be caused, and the (fulfilment of the) vow of compassion, made by the saints, would be obtained. After having read this petition, the Emperor Nimmō issued an ordinance, stating that the ceremony should be performed in accordance with Kūkai's request, and that this was a constant rule, binding for ever.¹ We learn from the *Genkō Shakusho*,² that the ceremony, established in accordance with Kūkai's memorial, was the *Goshichinichi no mushuho*, 後七日御修法, a *Shūngon* ceremony celebrated on the same days as the *Gosaie* (I 8—14) in the *Shūngon-in* or Tantric chapel in the Palace.³

In A.D. 836 (I 8), after having heard the explanation of the *sūtra* in the *Daigokuden*, the Emperor returned to the *Shishūnden*. On the 14th, when the *Saishōe* had come to an end, its *kōshū* and the *sōgō* were led (to the *Shishūnden*) in order to hold the usual discussion (*rongi*); at the same time the *Dentō-daihōshi* Enshō was appointed *Gonrissshi*. According to the *Shoku Nihon kōki* Enshō (延祥) (A.D. 766—853) belonged to the *Sanron* sanctuary *Gwangōji*, but Washio (p. 109, 1) calls him a *Hossō* priest of *Kōfukuji*, who in Tenchō 7 (A.D. 830) expounded the *Saishōōkyō* in the *Daigokuden*.

In A.D. 837 (I 8) the Emperor, accompanied by the Crown-prince, went to the *Daigokuden* to listen to the expounding of the *Saishōōkyō*; and on the last day (I 14) the *kōshū* and the "priests of wisdom and virtue" held a *rongi* in the *Jiyuden* (仁

¹ *Shoku Nihon kōki*, Ch. III, p. 200

² *Genkō Shakusho*, Ch. XXIII, p. 1047.

³ Cf. *Dayūten*, p. 530, s.v. *Goshichinichi mushuho*, and p. 870, 3, s.v. *Shūngon-in*.

壽殿) and received Imperial robes.¹ The following year the number of those "famous priests" is given, more than ten of them took part in the discussion.² Thenceforth the festival is regularly mentioned in the annals (I 1—8), first it was called *Saishōe*, in A.D. 859 (Jōkwan 1) we read of the *Daigokuden Gosaie*, in A.D. 860 the term *saiō* (齋講, "Vegetarian entertainment and expounding") is used, in A.D. 861 the term *saie*, in 862 and following years *Daigokuden saiō*, in 874 *Saishōe*, in 875 *Gosaie*, which term returns in 907, 914, 924, 946³ (the year before, X 30, the *kuge* performed a *Saishōōkyō chōkō* ("long expounding", 長講) in the *Hachimangū* on account of robbery and riots in the Eastern provinces),⁴ 947, 948, etc., thenceforward it was always called *Gosaie* (once, in A.D. 1028, *Saishōe*) The *Engishiki* (A.D. 927) speaks of "*Shōgwatsu Saishōōkyō-saie*".⁵

In A.D. 859 (Jōkwan 1, I 8) an interesting ordinance, given above (§ 6, p. 444) was issued by the Emperor Seiwa as to the *kōshū* of the *Yuima-e* of *Kōfukuji* (X 10—16), the *Gosaie* of the *Daigokuden* (I 8—14), and the *Saishōe* of *Yakushiji* (III 7—13) Chosen from priests of the five degrees of all sects, these monks of great learning, after having fulfilled their threefold task, had the title of *ikō* and were successively appointed *sōgō* (*risshū*, *sōzu*, *sōjō*)⁶

From A.D. 859 to 887 twenty-one *kōshū* of the *Gosaie* are mentioned in the *Nihon sandai jitsuroku* and the *Nihon kiryaku*, 13 of the *Hossō* sect, 4 of the *Sanron*, 3 of the *Kegon* and 1 (in A.D. 868, the priest Hosei of *Enryakuji*) of the *Tendai* sect. Five of them belonged to *Gwangōji*, four to *Yakushiji*, five to *Kōfukuji*, three to *Tōdaiji*, one to *Hōryūji*, one to *Saidaiji*, one

¹ *Shoku Nihon kōki*, Ch. vi, p. 231.

² *Ibid*, Ch. vii, p. 242

³ *Nihon kiryaku*, *zempo*, Ch. xvii, pp. 567, 575, 580, 585, 589, 595, etc.

⁴ *Nihon kiryaku kōken*, Ch. ii, p. 834

⁵ *Engishiki*, Ch. xv, p. 531

⁶ *Nihon sandai jitsuroku*, Ch. ii, p. 17, *Nihon kiryaku*, *zempo*, Ch. xvii, p. 567

to *Daianji*, and one to *Enryakuji*. Thus we see that *Hossō* was absolutely predominant and that of the seven great temples of Nara *Gwangōji* (*Sanron*), *Kōfukuji* (*Hossō*) and *Yakushiji* (*Hossō*) were the principal sanctuaries of that time. It is remarkable that notwithstanding the great rivalry between *Hossō* and *Sanron* (the former gaining more and more ground), there were both *Hossō* and *Sanron* priests in *Gwangōji*. The *Hossō* sect was even divided into two branches, that of the tradition of the N temple, *Kōfukuji* (*Hokuji-den* or *Kōfukuji-den*) and that of the tradition of the S temple, *Gwangōji* (*Nanji-den* or *Gwangōjiden* (the older one, of *Chitsū*). A *Hossō* priest of the *Kegon* shrine *Tōdaiji* is also mentioned as *kōshi* of the *Gosaie*, as well as a *Kegon* priest of the *Hossō* shrine *Yakushiji*.¹

As stated above, for many centuries the ceremony was performed yearly, without interruption or important alterations. In the thirteenth century, during and after Shijō Tennō's reign (A.D. 1233—1242), it was often intermitted, but in the Kemmu era (A.D. 1334—1336) Go Daigo Tennō restored it to its full glory, and also the *Uchi-rongi* or "Inner Discussion" was held as of old. The Ōnin war (A.D. 1467—1477), however, put an end to this as well as to the other Court ceremonies, and even after the *Genwa embu* or restoration of peace in the Genwa era (1615—1624), when many ancient rites were re-established, the *Gosaie* did not come to life again.²

§ 8, B. *The Saishōe of the Hossō temple Yakushiji at Nara*
(III 7—13), performed for the peace of the state
(A.D. 830—1445).

In A.D. 830 (Tenchō 7, IX 2) the Emperor Junna established this festival, which was one of the *Nankyō san(n)e*, mentioned

¹ *Sandai jitsuroku*, Ch. II—XL, *Nihon kiryaku*, *zempo*, Ch. XVII—XX.

² *Dayu*, I, p. 1310, 3, s.v. *Gosaie*.

above (§ 8, A, p. 471), i.e. one of the three great festivals of Nara: the *Yuimae*, the *Gosaié*, and the *Saishōe* of *Yakushiji*, the leadership of which opened the way to the ranks of *ikō* and *sōgō*.

The year before the *Hossō* priest Chūkei (仲繼, † 843) of *Yakushiji* in consequence of his "original vow" (*hongwan*) performed a *Saishōōkyō* ceremony in that sanctuary, which he called *Saishōe*.¹ This was praised by the *Nakatsukasa-kyō* (中務卿, one of the ministers, head of the *Nakatsukasa* department), Prince Saneyo (直世), one of the first Minamoto's, who in a memorial to the Throne requested the Emperor Junna to make it a regular festival, celebrated annually. This was granted, and thenceforth it was in *Yakushiji*, III 7—13.²

When in the second month of Tenroku 4 (A.D. 973) the temple had been destroyed by fire and only the two pagodas had escaped this calamity, for five years the festival took place in the *Saundō* (西院堂) in Kyōto, but in A.D. 978, when the sanctuary had been rebuilt by Imperial order by ten provinces (Yamato, Iga, etc.), the *Saishōe* was again celebrated in the new expounding hall (*kōdō*). Thus it was continued without any interruption until A.D. 1445 (Bunan 2), when a severe storm destroyed the main building and the ceremony was stopped for ever.

Instituted in the Kwankō era (A.D. 1004—1012) and performed in the *Seiryōden* of the Palace during five days of the fifth month, the *Saishōkō* replaced the *Saishōe* as the third of the Three Festivals.

The *honzon* or main image of the *Saishōe* of *Yakushiji* was an old embroidery, representing *Amida*, *Kwannon* and *Seishu* (his attendant Bodhisattvas), and angels, more than a hundred figures in all. This embroidery, which was three *jō* (30 *shaku*) high and two *jō*, one *shaku*, eight *sun* broad, dates from A.D. 698, XI 59, when the Emperor Mommu had ordered the *Hossō* priest Dōshō (道昭) (A.D. 629—700), the founder of the *Hossō* sect, whom

¹ Washio, p. 815, 2, s.v. *Chūkei*

² The days are given in the *Ōkagami*, Ch. VII, p. 648, and in the *Kuyō kongen* (A.D. 1422), *Nihon bungaku zensho*, XXII, p. 46.

on the same day he appointed *Daisōzu*, to “open the eyes” and lead the dedicatory ceremony in the expounding hall of *Yakushiji*.¹ We did not find this, however, in the chief annals.

It is remarkable that *Amṭābha* was the principal Buddha of this ceremony, although the *Saishōōkyō* has no special connection with his cult. One would have expected the Buddha *Śākyamuni* with *Mañjuśrī* and *Samantabhadra* to have been the honzon of the *Saishōe*, or, because it was a ceremony of *Yakushiji*, the Buddha *Bhaiṣajyaguru* with his two attendant Bodhisattvas *Sūrya-prabha* (*Nikkwō*, *Nikkō*, 日光, Sunlight) and *Candraprabha* (*Gwakkwō*, *Gwakkō*, 月光, Moonlight). The close connection between the two Sun-buddhas *Yakushi* and *Amida*, and the fact that *Amṭābha* was one of the four Buddhas manifesting themselves to the Bodhisattva *Ruciraketu* (*Myōdō*) in Ch I, section 2 of the *sūtra* (see above, Ch VIII, § 7, p. 264) may have been the reason of this choice

§ 8, C. *The Saishōe of Enshūji, one of the Three Tendai Festivals of Kyōto (II 19–23) (A.D. 1082–1268).*

In A.D. 1070 (Enkyū 2, XII 26) the Emperor Go Sanjō (A.D. 1069–1072) dedicated the new *Tendai* shrine *Enshūji* (圓宗寺), South of *Ninnaji*, in Katono district, Yamashiro. He invited 600 priests and went to the temple with the Prince Imperial.

In the Imperial *gwammon* or votive text the Ordinance was quoted by which His Majesty announced the erection of a sanctuary for causing the Buddhist doctrine to continue for a long time and the country to enjoy eternal peace. In this shrine were gold-coloured images of *Mahāvairocana* (20 feet high), *Bhaiṣajyaguru* (16 feet high), *Ichiji Kinrin* (一字金輪), and the *Rokuten* (六天) or Devas of the Six Heavens of the World of Desire (*Kāmadhātu*) (16 feet high, in various colours), placed in the

¹ *Dayu*, II, p. 1476, 3, s v *Saishōe*, Washio, p. 877, 2, s v. *Dōshō*

Golden Hall, and gold-coloured images of *Śākyamuni* (18 feet high), *Samantabhadra*, *Mañjuśrī*, *Avalokiteśvara* and *Maitreya* (each 16 feet high) in the Expounding Hall (*kōdō*). In spring the Wonderful Text of the *Saishōkyō* was to be expounded there, and prayers were to be offered for a long existence, of 10000 years, of the state. In autumn, in order to save the beings of the six *gātī*, the True Words of the *Hokkekyō* were to be explained. Therefore a *Hokkedō* was built and a *kondō* (gold-copper) pagoda, 3 feet high, was placed there, with a copy of the *Myōhō-rengēkyō* (the Lotus *sūtra*) written in golden characters, and consisting of eight fasciculi (*kwan*) (cf. Nanjō No. 139) Beginning with that day (XII 26) six priests were appointed, whose task it was to perform the *Hokke-sammai*, in order to protect the country and save all living beings (cf. above, Ch. VIII, § 18 B, pp. 360, *Hokke sembō*).¹

In A.D. 1072 (X 25) the same Emperor went to *Enshūji* and began to practise the *Hokke-e*, one of the *Ni-e hakkō* (二會八講) (the *Saishōe* was not performed until ten years later), with the *Ajari* Raizō (賴增) of *Mudera* as *kōshū* and the *Hōin Daisōzu* Raishin (賴眞) of *Kōfukuji* as *ichimon* (一間), and an *immyō-rongi* (因明論議) or "Discussion on the *hetuvidyā*" (i.e. on the nature of truth and error). He also instituted the rank of *Tendai ikō* (已講), thus making these two festivals of *Enshūji* (the *Saishōe* and *Hokke-e*) the *Tendai* and *Kyōto* counterparts of the *Nankyō* (or *Nanto*) *san(n)e*, the Three Festivals of Nara. The term *hakkō*, "Eight expoundings", was borrowed from the *Hokke hakkō* of the *Tendai* sect. On the last day of this festival (the *Hokke-e*) the *kōshū* Raizō was appointed *Gonrissshū*.² As to the images of the two ceremonies, these were those of the *kōdō*: *Shaka*, *Fugen*, *Monju*, *Kwannon* and *Miroku*, dedicated in A.D. 1070.

¹ *Fusō ryakki*, Ch. XXIX, pp. 817 sq.

² *Ibid.*, p. 820, *Genkō Shakusho*, Ch. XXV, p. 1090 Cf. below, Ch. XVI, § 8, C (*Hokke hakkō*)

The *Hokke sambu* (the *Muryōgikyō*, *Hokkekyō* and *Fugen-kwangyō*, Nanjō Nos. 133, 134, 394) were expounded in the *Hokke-e*, the *Saishōōkyō* in the *Saishōe*.¹

In A.D. 1078 (Shōryaku 2, X 3) the third of the *Tendai san(n)e* was started in the *Tendai* shrine *Hōshōji* (法勝寺), a *gogwanji* (御願寺) or "temple erected in consequence of an Imperial vow", dedicated the previous year (A.D. 1077, XII 18), with the images of *Vairocana*, *Śākyamuni*, *Amitābha* and other Buddhas in the Golden Hall, and *Śākyamuni*, *Samantabhadra* and *Mañjuśrī* (*Shaka*, *Fugen*, *Monju*) in the Expounding Hall. The five classes of *Mahāyāna sūtras* (*bu*, sections of the canon), written in golden characters, were presented, forming part of the whole canon, copied in this way. On the sixth (the 4th day of the festival) the Emperor Shirakawa (A.D. 1073—1086) went to *Hōshōji*, nominated the *kōshi* of this *Dayōe* (大乘會) or "Mahāyāna meeting" *Gonrissshi*, and praised the head of the temple.² This annual festival took place X 24—28, and the *sūtras*, explained before the images of *Shaka*, *Fugen* and *Monju* in the Expounding Hall, belonged on the first day to the *Kegon-bu* or *Avatamsaka* class (Nanjō Nos 87—112); on the second to the *Hōdō-bu* or *Vaipulya* class (Nanjō Nos. 61 sqq.), on the third to the *Hannya-bu* or *Prajñāpāramitā* class (Nanjō Nos 1—22), on the fourth to the *Hokke-bu* or *Lotus* class (Nanjō No. 134—139); and on the fifth day to the *Nehan-bu* or *Nirvāṇa* class (Nanjō Nos 113—125).³

In A.D. 1082 (Eihō 2, II 19—23) the *Saishōe* of *Enshūji* was held for the first time, with the *Tendai* priest *Myōjitsu* (明實, a priest of *Hietzan*)⁴ as *kōshi*. The Emperor Shirakawa issued

¹ *Dayu*, I, p. 398, 1, s.v. *Enshūji Saishōe* and *Hokke-e*. The *Dayu* refers to the *Butsu-e kiyō*, 佛會紀要, written by the head of the *Hongwanji* branch of the *Jōdo Shinshū*, the priest *Myōnyo*, 明如.

² *Fusō ryakki*, Ch. xxx, pp. 827, 829, *Genkō Shakusho*, Ch. xxv, p. 1091.

³ *Dayu*, III, p. 4125, 3, s.v. *Hōshōji Dayōe*.

⁴ Washio, p. 1081, 1, s.v. *Myōjitsu*.

an ordinance, uniting the three festivals and thus instituting the *Tendai san(n)e*:¹

1. The *Saishōe* of *Enshūji* (II 19—23).

2. The *Daijōe* of *Hōshōji* (X 24—28).

3. The *Hokke-e* of *Enshūji* (during five days of the twelfth month, fixed yearly by Imperial ordinance (e.g. in A.D. 1103, XII 19—23, fixed two days previously; when it was performed for the first time, it took place in the tenth month, A.D. 1072, X 25—29).²

The number of days of these three festivals was five, whereas that of the Three Festivals of Nara was seven; both sacred numbers of great importance.

It is a curious fact that a *Shingon* priest, the Imperial Prince Shōshin (性信) (A.D. 1005—1085), fourth son of the Emperor Sanjō, should be the leader of the dedicatory ceremony of *Hōshōji* in A.D. 1077, XII 18, and the head of the temple,³ and that the Imperial Princes Kakugyō (覺行) (A.D. 1075—1104) and Kakuō (覺法) (A.D. 1091—1153), the third and fourth sons of Shirakawa Tennō, who were also *Shingon* priests, held important functions in *Enshūji* and *Hōshōji* (A.D. 1098 and 1112).⁴ This is evidence of the close connection in those days between the *Shingon* sect and the mystic branch of *Tendai*.

After Bunei 5 (A.D. 1268) the *ni-e* (*Saishōe* and *Hokke-e* of *Enshūji*) are not again mentioned; they appear to have been abolished.⁵

¹ *Genkō Shakusho*, Ch xxv, p. 1092.

² *Honchō sekī* (*Kokushū taikō*, VIII), Kōwa 5, XII, p. 387, *Dayū*, I, p. 398, 1, s v *Enshūji Hokke-e*

³ *Himitsu jirin*, p. 600, 1, s v. *Shōshin*, Washio, p. 599, 1, s v. *Shōshin*.

⁴ *Himitsu jirin*, pp. 125, 2 and 130, 2; Washio, pp. 135, 1 and 147, 2

⁵ *Dayū*, I, p. 398, 1, s v. *Enshūji*.

§ 8, D. *The Saishōkō of the Seiryōden (in the Palace), performed in the fifth month (A.D. 1002—after 1445).*

In A.D. 1002 (Chōhō 4, V 7) the Emperor Ichijō invited to the Palace priests of four great temples, *Tōdaiji* (*Kegon*), *Kōfukuji* (*Hossō*) (both in Nara), *Enryakuji* (*Tendai*, on *Hieiizan*) and *Onjōji* (*Mudera*, *Jimon* branch of the *Tendai* sect, Ōmi province), and caused them to expound the *Saishōkyō* in the *Seiryōden*. This was not then yet an annual ceremony, but seven years later, in A.D. 1009 (Kwankō 6, VI 19) he established it as a regular congregation, held yearly in the *Seiryōden* during five days of the fifth month, in which famous priests of those four sanctuaries explained the *sūtra* and discussed it. Beyond the *kōshu* and the *shōgi* (證義) ("he who proves the meaning", i.e. who from a high seat gives a final judgment concerning the questions and answers of the discussion; ¹ this *shōgi*, being mentioned before the *kōshu*, appears to have been considered to have a still more important function than the latter), there were a certain number of *chōshu* (聽衆), "listeners", who all had their fixed places (the *shōgi* on the North side, the *kōshu* on the South-east side of the hall, whereas the *chōshu* were seated along the southern wall). Since under the reign of the Emperor Go Suzaku (A.D. 1037—1045) the Four Deva Kings (*Shitennō*) had manifested themselves during the meeting, seats for them were always arranged (like Piṇḍola's seat in the Chinese monasteries). Hymns were sung, flowers were strown, and on the last day (*kechigwan*) incense was presented to the priests (*gyōkō*, 行香) and burned as an offering to the Buddha. ²

¹ *Dayiten*, p. 845, 1, s.v. *shōgisha*.

² Ceremonies of the Kemmu era (A.D. 1334—1336), described in the *Shūkaishō*, 拾芥抄, written by Fujiwara no Sanehiro (實熙) (born A.D. 1409, retired A.D. 1457), Ch. 下; *Kuji kongen* (A.D. 1422), p. 66, s.v. *Saishōkō*.

In later ages it often took place V 24—28.¹ When after A D 1445 the *Saishōe* of *Yakushiji* at Nara was no longer practised, the *Saishōkō* of the *Seiryōden* was made the third of the Three Festivals (*san(n)e*). Thus we see that it was still performed in the fifteenth century of our era.²

In the *Eigwa monogatari* and the *Taiheiki*³ (about A D. 1100 and 1382) we read about the *Saishōkō no Mihakkō* (御八講) or "The Imperial Eight Expoundings of the *Saishōkō*" of the fifth month, and of the *Saishōji no hakkō* of the second day of the 7th month (12th cent.) This term was used in imitation of the name of the *Hokke hakkō*, the famous *Tendai* festival. It is clear that the *Hokke hakkō* was indicated in this way because of the eight chapters of the "Lotus *sūtra* with additional sections" (Nanjō No 139, Nanjō No. 134 consists of 7 chapters or fasciculi); therefore the proper name of the *Saishōkō* was *Saishō jūkō* or the "Ten Expoundings of the *Saishōōkyō*" on account of its having ten chapters or fasciculi (*kwan*).⁴

The term *Saishōkō gokwan* (五卷) means the central, i.e. the third, of the five days of the festival, because there was a morning and an evening session, and in each session one *kwan* was treated, so that the fifth chapter was dealt with in the morning session of the third day; this was considered the principal day of the festival. The *Masu kagami* (A D. 1340—1350) speaks of the 28th day (of the fifth month) as the *Uchi no Saishōkō gokwan*

¹ In A D 1322 (V) the *Jōdo-Shinshū* priest Kwōgen (光玄) (A D 1290—1373) (Washio p 346, 1, s v *Kōgen*) was leader of the *Saishōkō* at the Court.

² *Dayū*, II, p. 1477, 1, s v *Saishōkō*, where the *Saishōe* of *Yakushiji* is said to have been abolished in the Namboku-chō period (A D 1336—1392), but in the same work (II, p. 1476, 3, s v *Saishōe*) the date of Bunan 2 (A D 1445) is given.

³ *Eigwa monogatari*, Ch xxxiv, *Kokushu taiketsu*, Vol xv, p. 1606, *Taiheiki*, Ch xxiv, p. 1b. The *Saishōji no hakkō* appears to have been a festival of the beginning of the seventh month.

⁴ *Dayūten*, p 586, 2, s v *Saishō jūkō*.

no hi, or "the day of the fifth chapter of the Saishōkō of the Imperial Palace". It began on the 26th of the fifth month of A.D. 1243 (Kwangen 1).¹

§ 8, E. The Saishōkō of Shirakawa Hōō's Palace (Toba-in, his Sentō gosho, 仙洞御所) (III 19—23?) (performed for the first time in A.D. 1113).

In A.D. 1113 (Eikyū 1, VII 24) another Saishōkō was established by the Emperor Shirakawa, who after his abdication in A.D. 1086 resided in a so-called Sentō gosho or "Cave of the Genū" (name of the palace of a retired Emperor); after his death in A.D. 1129 it was inhabited by his grandson Toba Tennō, who had abdicated in A.D. 1123 (hence its name Toba-in).

From A.D. 1206 (Kenei 1, III 19) Tsugai-rongi (番論義) or "Coupled Discussions" were annexed to this ceremony, in imitation of the Uchi or Tsugai-rongi of the Gosaie (also imitated at the Hokke-e of Hietzan)² (cf. above, § 8, A, pp. 471 sq.) This discussion took place on the third day (III 21), i.e. probably the central day of the festival, which, as we saw above (§ 8, D), used to be the principal day. If this be right, in A.D. 1206 the days of the ceremony were III 19—23 (the Saishōe of Enshūji was held on II 19—23). There were ten tsugai (番) or "couples" of subjects; in some years there were nine, or seven, or even none at all. The number ten was due to the fact that the Saishōkyō consists of ten chapters (Nanjō's fasciculi, kwan).³

We do not read when this In (院, i.e. Toba-in) or Sentō gosho no Saishōkō was abolished, but the fact that the Gosaie, the Saishōe of Yakushiji and that of the Seiryōden lasted till the fifteenth century, and the Saishōe of Enshūji till the thirteenth,

¹ Masu kagami, Ch. v (Uchino no yuki), Kokushi taikēi, Vol. xvii, pp. 1038 sq.

² Dayiten, p. 1235, 1, s.v. Hokke-e no tsugai-rongi

³ Dayiten, p. 586, 2, s.v. Saishōkō.

is clear evidence of the great importance attached to the *Saishōkyō* by the Japanese Court. For many centuries this *sūtra* was believed to be one of the most powerful expedients for the protection of the Emperor and State. When in A.D. 1281 Japan was in utmost danger, being attacked by Kublai Khan's fleet and army, the *Kairitsu* priest Eison (睿尊) (A.D. 1201—1290) explained the *Saishōkyō* and the Emperor Go Uda himself copied the sixth chapter of this holy text, devoted to the protection of the country by the Four Deva Kings.¹ And even in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries of our era the *Tendai* priests Ryōgon (良嚴) (1742—1814) and Ryō-a (亮阿) (1800—1882), the former in 1794, in 1817 the latter (together with the *Hokkekyō* and the *Ninnōkyō*), paid special attention to this "King of the *Sūtras*", this great text of the Golden Light.²

¹ Washio, p. 77, 2, s.v. *Eison*.

² Washio, pp. 1177, 2, 1207, 2, s.v. *Ryōgon* and *Ryō-a* (who wrote the three texts with his blood).

CHAPTER XII.

THE DAIHANNYAKYŌ OR MAHĀPRAJÑĀPĀRAMITĀ-SŪTRA (NANJŌ No. 1).

§ 1. *Prajñāpāramitā and its principal text.*

Prajñā (*hannya*, 般若, translated by *chie*, 智慧, *Wisdom*) is the highest of the six *Pāramitās* (六度, *rokudo*, "six means of passing", namely to *Nirvāṇa*, the other shore, *higan*, 彼岸), the perfect virtues (charity, morality, patience, energy, contemplation and wisdom), leading the Bodhisattvas to *Nirvāṇa*.

This *Prajñāpāramitā*, being the knowledge of the illusory character, emptiness, of all things (*dharma*s), is fully explained in the *Daihannyakyō* or *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra*. For this reason it is the first and principal of all *Mahāyāna-sūtras*, and opens the Chinese *Tripitaka* with its stately number of 600 chapters (*fasciculi*).

According to Fah-hien (who travelled A.D. 399—413) in the beginning of the fifth century A.D. the Mahāyānists in the Indian kingdom of Mathurā presented offerings to the *Prajñā-pāramitā*, to Mañjuśrī and to Avalokiteśvara. This was the present text, worshipped as a deity by the Northern Buddhists, just as the Southern Church pays honour to the Sacred Books in general ¹

It represents Wisdom itself, and as such it is the Mother of all Buddhas to the Mahāyānists.

"*Prajñā* not only means knowledge of the absolute truth, that is to say of *śūnyatā* or the void, but is regarded as an onto-

¹ Kern, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 128.

logical principle synonymous with *Bodhi* and *Dharmakāya*. Thus Buddhas not only possess this knowledge in the ordinary sense but they are the knowledge manifest in human form, and *Prajñā* is often personified as a goddess. All these works (on *Prajñā-pāramitā*) lay great stress on the doctrine of *sūnyatā*, and the non-existence of the world of experience. The longest recension (this text) is said to contain a polemic against the *Hīnayāna*".¹

Chi-ché ta-shi, the founder of the *T'ien-t'ai* sect in China (A.D. 531—597) "divided the teaching of the Buddha into five periods, regarded as progressive not contradictory, and expounded respectively in (a) the *Hwa-yen* (*Kegon*) *sūtra*; (b) the *Hīnayāna sūtras*, (c) the *Leng-yen-king* (*Ryōgonkyō*, i.e. *Śūrangama-samādhi-sūtra*, Nanjō No. 399, 446); (d) the *Prajñā-pāramitā*; (e) the *Lotus Sūtra*, which is the crown, quintessence and plenitude of all Buddhism".²

Thus to the *T'ien-t'ai* sect (apart from the "opening" and "closing" *sūtras* of the *Hokkekyō*, Nos 133 and 394) the *Daihannyakyō* is the second in rank and importance after the *Lotus sūtra*.

As to its worship as a female deity, we find *Prajñāpāramitā* side by side with *Mañjuśrī* and *Tārā* in the Singasari temple of Java (cf. Fah-hien's statement about her being worshipped in Mathurā together with *Mañjuśrī* and *Avalokiteśvara*); also the famous statue in the Leiden Ethnographical Museum, representing a beautiful female *Bodhisattva* with the sacred text lying on the lotus in her left hand, is evidence of her cult in Java.

In Japan and China we find *Hannya Bosatsu*, i.e. the *Bodhisattva* *Prajñā* (*pāramitā*), in the centre of the *Jimyō-in* (持明院) of the *Taijō-mandara* (the maṇḍala of the phenomenal world) of the mystic cult, and among the ten *Pāramitā* *Bodhisattvas* of the *Kokūzō* (*Ākāśagarbha*)-in of the same mandara. Tradition

¹ Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, II, p. 52.

² L I, III, p. 311.

identifies her also with the *Kongō-go* (金剛護) *Bosatsu* or "Vajra-protecting (Vajraraksha) Bodhisattva", one of the "Four Near Ones", *Shishūgon* (四親近), of the Buddha Amogha-siddhi on the Northern side of the *Kongō-mandara* (the mandala of the Vajra or Diamond World) Her mystic name is *Dai-e Kongō* or "Great Wisdom Vajra" and as the *honzon* or principal saint of the *Daihannyakyō* she is called the "Mother of Wisdom" (*Chimo*, 智母) who gives birth to all the Buddhas of the three worlds (past, present and future). She is represented with six arms, seated upon a red lotus ¹

The first of the five classes of Mahāyāna sūtras in the Chinese canon, the *Prajñā-pāramitā* class, consists of 22 numbers (Nanjō Nos 1—22). No 1 is the *Daihannyakyō* (600 fasc., 200000 ślokas), translated A.D. 659—663 by Huen-tsang. The other texts are nearly all earlier or later translations of some of the 16 sūtras contained by the *Daihannyakyō*. From the second to the sixth century of our era Nos 2—12, 15—17, 19, 21 and 22 appeared, and of these texts only No 17, the *Ninnō-gokoku-hannya-haramitsukyō* (2 fasc., 8 ch., cf. above Ch. V, § 2, p. 119), and No 19 (the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-mahavidyā-mantra-sūtra*, 大明咒經, one leaf, i.e. the famous *Prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya-sūtra*, 心經), both translated by Kumārajīva (A.D. 402—412), are not found in the *Daihannyakyō*.² This famous translator's name is also connected with Nos. 3 and 6 (小品, A.D. 408), as well as with the celebrated *Kongō-hannya-haramitsu-kyō* (No. 10, 14 leaves, with an Imperial preface of A.D. 1411), rendered successively by Kumārajīva, Bodhiruci I (508—535), Paramārtha (562), Dharmagupta (590—616), Huen-tsang (645—664) and I-tsing (700—712) (Nos. 10—15, the last three of which are called the "Well cutting Diamond sūtra" (能斷金剛, *Nōdan kongō*). As to the *Sūtra*

¹ *Himitsu jirin*, pp. 885 sq.

² Nos 2—4 are identical with No 1b (the second sūtra of the *Daihannyakyō*), Nos. 5—8 with No. 1d, No 9 with No 1f, Nos. 10—15 with No 1i, No. 16 with No. 1h, No. 18 with No 1j, and Nos. 21 and 22 with No 1g.

of the Heart (*Hṛdaya sūtra*) (No. 19), 250 years after Kumārajīva Huen-tsang translated this small but famous text (No. 20, one leaf), deemed worthy of an Imperial preface by the founder of the Ming dynasty, T'ai-tsu (A.D. 1368—1398). In the titles of Nos. 16, 21 and 22 (translations of the 5th and 6th centuries) the name of the Bodhisattva *Mañjuśrī* is found, which reminds us of the fact, that his cult was mentioned in India and in Java together with that of *Prajñā-pāramitā*.

The *Daihannyakyō* consists of the so-called "Sixteen Meetings in Four Places" (四處十六會, *shisho jūroku-e*), i.e. the 16 sermons of the Buddha, held on the Vulture Peak (no. 1, Ch. 1—400; nos. 2—6, Ch. 401—573; no. 15, Ch. 591—592), in Anāthapīṇḍada's park at Śrāvastī (nos. 7—9, Ch. 574—577; no. 11—14, Ch. 579—590), in the highest of the six Devalokas (*Take-jizai-ten*, 他化自在天, the abode of the *Paranirmita-vaśavartin*; no. 10, Ch. 578), and at the Snowy Heron pond in the Bamboo Park (Karanda Venuvana) near Rājagṛha (no. 16, Ch. 593—600).

Probably the numbers four and sixteen are not accidental. We may compare them with those of the Arhats in Mahāyānism. the Four Great Śrāvakas and the group of the Sixteen Arhats, protectors of the four quarters of the world.¹ Similarly the idea of the four quarters and their protection may have been the leading thought in composing this *sūtra*.

No wonder that this supreme text of the Mahāyāna church played for centuries a prominent part in Chinese and Japanese Buddhism as well as in that of the other countries where Mahāyāna prevailed. The following paragraphs will show its great importance to ceremonial Japan.

As to its commentaries, the principal work is Nāgārjuna's *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra* (大智度論, *Daichidoron*, Nanjō No. 1169, generally called *Dairon*, 大論, or "The Great Śāstra",

¹ Cf. Sylvain Lévi and Chavannes, *Les seize Arhats protecteurs de la Loi*, *Journal Asiatique*, 1916, p. 190 (51); the present writer's treatise on the *Arhats in China and Japan*, Ch. III, § 2.

translated A.D. 402—405 by Kumārajīva, and consisting of 100 fasciculi.

As stated above (Ch. VIII, § 13, p. 292), the Liang Emperor Wu Ti (A.D. 502—549) held penitential services based upon the *Daihannyakyō* and the *Kongō-hannyakyō*, and the Ch'en Emperor Suen Ti (A.D. 569—582) followed his example by celebrating rites of repentance in accordance with the sixth *sūtra* of the former text.¹

In A.D. 663 (X 30) the Emperor Kao-tsung of the T'ang dynasty (A.D. 650—683), who had heard with great joy that Huen-tsang had completed the translation of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra*, gave a vegetarian entertainment to the monks in the *Kia-sheu-tien* (嘉壽殿), a palace which in honour of the *sūtra* had been splendidly adorned with precious flags and canopies and all kinds of offering utensils. Huen-tsang had translated it in four years (659—663) in the *Yuh-kwa-szē* (玉華寺), a palace made a Buddhist temple in A.D. 659 on behalf of the soul of the preceding Emperor (T'ai-tsung, 627—650). The Emperor invited the *sūtra* to the *Kia-sheu-tien*, where it was expounded and the festival was held. When he went to meet it on its way to this palace, it emitted light over a great distance, a rain of heavenly flowers descended, and a wonderful odour filled the air! This was the first instance of celebrating the ceremony called *Daihannya kuyō* (大般若供養) or "Offering to the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā*".²

The *sūtra* itself and those who make offerings to it are protected by 16 good spirits, in accordance with the number of the sermons which it contains.³

¹ Tao-suen, Nanjō No. 1481, Ch. xxviii, sect. 9, pp. 291b—296a

² *Dayūten*, p. 1156, 3, s.v. *Daihannya kuyō*.

³ *Daizū*, III, p. 3207, 3, s.v. *Daihannya-e*.

§ 2. *Daihannya-e* (大般若會) or "Meetings in honour of the *Daihannyakyō*", held in the Imperial Palace during the eighth century.

Daihannya-e were meetings in which the *Daihannyakyō* was expounded or read by means of the *tendoku* system, in order to give peace and rest to the Empire and to avert calamities (鎮國除災, *chinkoku josai*). The first time we read of the *Daihannyakyō* in Japan is in A.D. 703 (III 10), under the reign of Mommu Tennō (697–707). Then the monks of the four great temples of Nara (*Daijōji*, *Yakushiji*, *Gwangōji* and *Kōfukuji*) were ordered by Imperial edict to read this *sūtra*, and a hundred men were made to enter religion. This may have been done in connection with the death of the Emperor's aunt, the Empress Jitō, who had abdicated in A.D. 696 and after whose death (A.D. 702, XII 22) two vegetarian entertainments had taken place in the same four great temples (XII 25 and 703, I 5). On the 49th day after her death (II 11) a similar entertainment was given there and in 29 other sanctuaries.

It is, however, not stated, whether the *Daihannyakyō* was read for this or for some other reason.¹

The first Palace meeting of this kind, however, was held in A.D. 725 (Jinki 2, intercalary I, 17), when the Emperor Shōmu (724–749) invited 600 monks to read this *sūtra* in the Palace, in order to avert calamities and strange events.² The number 600 is peculiar to this *sūtra* in connection with the number of its chapters (fasciculi). According to the *Genkō Shakusho*³ as early as A.D. 708 (X) a yearly ceremony was established by Imperial edict, with *tendoku* of the *Daihannyakyō* and vegetarian entertainment of the monks, invited for this purpose;

¹ *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. III, p. 27

² *Ibid.*, Ch. IX, p. 153

³ *Genkō Shakusho*, Ch. XXI, p. 1007.

but neither the *Shoku Nihongi* nor the *Fusō ryakki* mention this fact.

The *tendoku* of this *sūtra*, called *ten-daihannyakyō* or "turning the *Mahāprajñā-sūtra*", is prescribed in a passage of the *Susiddhikāra sūtra* (蘇悉地羯羅經, *Soshitsujī-kara-kyō*, Nanjō No. 533, translated A.D. 724 by Śubhakarasiṃha, a very important *sūtra* of the Tantric school. There it is said that it must be repeated seven or a hundred times.¹ The term *tendoku* was used already in A.D. 642, in the first year of the Empress Kōgyoku's reign, when Soga no Oho-omi said that rain should be caused by *tendoku* of the *Mahāyāna sūtras* in the temples, and by repentance of sins.² Probably, however, this was not the later *tendoku* system, the opposite of *shindoku* (真讀) or "true reading", but simply "reading", for the *kana* pronunciation is *yomi-matsuru*, and the *Daijiten* refers to other passages where it is used in this sense and not in that of "reading by way of extract".³

The Emperor Shōmu appears to have had a firm belief in the protective power of the *Prajñāpāramitā*, for in A.D. 735 (Tempyō 7) (V 24) he ordered *tendoku* of the *Daihannyakyō* in the Palace and in the four great temples, in order to expel calamity and to give peace and tranquillity to the State (爲消除災害。安寧國家也).⁴ And in the same year (VIII 12) he had the *Kongō-hannyakyō* read in the great temples of *Dazai-fu* (Tsukushi) and in the sanctuaries of the divers provinces (of Tsukushi) against the pestilence there prevailing.⁵

In A.D. 737 (III 3) the same Emperor issued a proclamation to the effect that in every province a *Shaka* image and those

¹ Nanjō No 533, Chapter 成就具支法品, quoted *Dayiten*, p. 1253, 3, s v *ten-daihannyakyō*

² *Nihongi*, Ch xxiv, p 410, Aston II, p 175

³ *Dayiten*, p 1255, 3, s v *tendoku*

⁴ *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch xxii, p 199.

⁵ *Ibid*, Ch xii, p. 199

of his two attendant Bodhisattvas *Monju* and *Fugen* (Mañjuśrī and Samantabhadra) should be made and one copy of the *Daihannyakyō* written. The following month (IV 8) the Rissū Dōji (道慈), the famous *Sanron* priest mentioned above (Ch. XI, § 7 A, p. 447), in connection with the *Ninnōkyō*, expounded by him in the Palace of the Chinese Emperor at Ch'ang-an, and with the first *Konkwōmyō-Saishōō* meeting in the *Daigokuden* (A.D. 737, X 26), informed the Emperor that after the *Daiangi* (where he lived) had been repaired, he had privately requested some monks of pure conduct to read the *Daihannyakyō*, performing yearly *tendoku* of the whole work. "For that reason the temple was not damaged, although there were thunderstorms". He now prayed His Majesty thenceforth to demand from every province a tax of three pieces of cloth, in order to complete the alms (*fuse*) (to the clergy) and to invite 150 monks, causing them to perform *tendoku* of the *Daihannyakyō*, that it might protect the temples, tranquillize the country, and give peace and rest to His Majesty's Court. Further he requested the Emperor thenceforth to make this virtuous act a constant rule. This petition was granted by the Emperor.¹

The same year (V 1), when there was an eclipse of the sun, His Majesty invited 600 monks to the Palace and caused them to read the *Daihannyakyō*, and again (VIII 15) 700 monks in fifteen apartments of the Palace to perform *tendoku* of this *sūtra* and the *Saishōōkyō*, for the sake of the peace of the State and the repose of the country (爲天下太平國土安寧). At the same time 400 men became monks, and in the Home provinces and other parts of the country 578 persons followed their example.² Among the 700 priests who

¹ Ibid, Ch. XII, p. 206 護寺，鎮國，平安聖朝。以此功德永爲恒例。勅許之。

² Ibid, Ch XII, pp. 208, 210.

had to read the two *sūtras*, probably 600 had the task of reading the *Daihannyakyō* and 100 the *Saishōkyō* (10 fasc).

In A.D. 740 the storms ceased and the crops improved, because, as the Emperor stated in his famous proclamation on the *kokubunji* and *kokubun-niji* (A.D. 741, III 24), he had commanded each of the provinces to make one golden *Shaka* image and write out one copy of the *Daihannyakyō*.¹

In A.D. 744 (III 14) the *Daihannyakyō* of *Konkwōmyōji* (i.e. *Tōdaiji*) was transported to the *Shukōraku* (紫香樂) Palace and welcomed at the *Suzaku* gate by the officials with music and ceremonial honours (as in China A.D. 663, X 30). Thence it was brought into the Palace and placed in the *Anden*, 200 monks were invited to perform *tendoku* during one day. The next day 300 priests read the same *sūtra* in the high building situated near the Naniwa Palace.²

An earthquake was the reason that in A.D. 745 (V 10) the *Daihannyakyō* was read in the *Heijō* Palace: a week before in all the temples of the capital the *Saishōkyō* was read (for 7 days), and the *Daishūkyō* (Nanjō No. 61) in the *Daijūji*, *Yakushiji*, *Gwangōji* and *Kōfukuji* (for 21 days), all on account of earthquakes. Against the continual drought, however, praying for rain took place in the *Shintō* temples of all provinces; no *sūtras* or Buddhist prayers were used to avert this calamity.³

In the same year (A.D. 745, IX 19) the Emperor Shōmu fell ill, and not only were *Yakushi-kekwa* ordered in all the temples of the capital and Home provinces and in the "pure places of the famous mountains" (Buddhist temples), but also 3800 persons had to become monks, and falcons and cormorants were to be let loose in all provinces, because *hōjō* (放生) was a meritorious act and hunting was wicked. At the same time, however, *gohei*

¹ Ibid., Ch. xiv, p. 233

² Ibid., Ch. xv, pp. 251 sq. the *Chūgū anden* is also mentioned in A.D. 750, V 8 (Ch. xviii, p. 294) in connection with the *Ninnōkyō*.

³ Ibid., Ch. xvi, p. 259.

and prayers were sent to the Shintō temples of Kamo and Matsuno-o and to the shrine of Hachiman at Usa. Moreover, in the capital a hundred copies of the *Daihannyakyō* had to be written out, and in all provinces seven images of *Yakushi Nyorai*, 6 shaku 7 sun high, and seven copies of the *Yakushikyō* had to be made (the number seven being proper to this Buddha, worshipped in seven different forms). Three days later (IX 23) the *Daihannyakyō* was read by 600 monks in the *Heijō no Chūgū*, the Palace of the Empress in Nara. ¹

In A.D. 758 (Tempyō Hōji 2, VIII 18) the Empress Kōken issued an ordinance, saying that in all provinces men and women, old and young, should think of and read about the *Mahāprajñā-pāramitā*, the Mother of all Buddhas, daily, in order to avert storms and drought and pestilence. ²

In A.D. 760 (Tempyō Hōji 4, intercalary IV 23) *tendoku* of the *Daihannyakyō* took place in the Palace by order of the Emperor Junnin, ³ and in A.D. 770 (Jingo Keiun 4, VII 15), shortly before the Empress Shōtoku's death, her last Imperial Ordinance, devoted to the Buddhist doctrine, prescribed *tendoku* of this *sūtra* in all the large and small temples of the Capital, during seven days (VII 17—23), "in order to avert pestilence and other calamities, and to counteract evil omens, by the power of Wisdom and Compassion". She forbade the use of meat and wine throughout the Empire, and ordered officials, monks and nuns of all provinces to do their utmost to control and fulfill the reading of this *sūtra* in all the temples of their territories. ⁴

In A.D. 774 (Hōki 5, IV 11), when pestilence prevailed, the Emperor Kōnin (A.D. 770—781), following evidently the words of the Empress Kōken's proclamation of A.D. 758 (VIII 18) and

¹ Ibid, Ch. xvi, p. 261.

² Ibid, Ch. xxi, pp. 355 sq.

³ Ibid, Ch. xxii, p. 380.

⁴ Ibid, Ch. xxx, p. 525.

quoting the same text, by Imperial Ordinance admonished the whole people to think of and read about the *Mahāprajñā-pāramitā*, in order to put a stop to the terrible epidemic.¹

The following year (A.D. 775, Hōki 6, X 19) 200 monks read the *Daihannyakyō* in the Palace and in the Court Hall (*Chōdō*), and in A.D. 776 (V 30), when several evil omens had appeared and an *ō-harai*, a great Shintō lustration, had been held (V 19), the same *sūtra* was again read there by 600 monks.² In A.D. 777 (III 21) the same number of priests, assisted by 100 novices, performed *tendoku* of this text in the Palace.³

During the reign of the Emperor Kwammu (A.D. 781 IV 1–806 III 17) very few ceremonies are mentioned. Only once do we read about the *Daihannyakyō*. It was read by his order for seven days in all the temples of the Home and other provinces, to save the life of the Empress. She died, however, on the fifth day (A.D. 789, XII 28).⁴ Afterwards the *Kongō-hannyakyō* was used and not this *sūtra* (A.D. 797, V 19, against strange apparitions in the Palace and in that of the Prince Imperial,⁵ and A.D. 806, III 17, on the very day of the Emperor's death, as a last means of saving his life).⁶

§ 3. *The Daihannya-e, celebrated in the Daigokuden of the Imperial Palace and in temples during the ninth century.*

The ninth century was a glorious age with regard to this *sūtra*. It was the principal text used in protecting the State and Court against all kind of evil influences.

In A.D. 806 (V 7) it was read in the *Daigokuden* and in the

¹ Ibid, Ch. xxxiii, p. 578.

² Ibid, Ch. xxxiii, p. 589, Ch. xxxiv, p. 596.

³ Ibid, Ch. xxxiv, p. 603.

⁴ Ibid, Ch. xl, p. 755.

⁵ *Nihon kiriyaku*, Zempo, Ch. xiii, p. 378.

⁶ *Nihon kōki*, Ch. xiii, p. 62. Cf. above, Ch. xi, § 7 F, p. 469.

Tōgū (the Palace of the Prince Imperial), probably in connection with the death of the Emperor Kwammu (III 17), the 7 × 7th day after his death having been celebrated two days previously by a vegetarian entertainment of monks in the Palace.¹

In A.D. 809 (I 18) the Emperor Heijō ordered this *sūtra* to be copied in all provinces "on behalf of the famous (*Shintō*) gods" (*myōjin*, 名神), and to be read, worshipped with offerings, and placed in the *Kokubunji*, or, if there was no Provincial Temple, in a *jōgakuji* (定額寺, a "temple with a fixed tablet", namely for its name):² This was probably done to avert the evil omens of three days before, when a day had ascended the Western tower of the *Daigokuden* and barked, and several hundred crows had hovered over this building of the Palace.

In A.D. 819 (VII 18) *tendoku* of the *Daihannyakyō* took place during three days in the 13 Great Temples and in all the *jōgakuji* of Yamato province, in order to "pray for sweet rain". This was also the case in A.D. 827 (V 16), when during three days 100 priests performed *tendoku* of this *sūtra* in the *Daigokuden*, and in A.D. 829 (II 28) (100 priests and 100 *śrāmaneras*, three days in the *Daigokuden*).³ In A.D. 834 (VI 30) 100 priests had again to perform *tendoku* in the same building of the Palace, in order to pray for fertilizing rain and to avert storms.⁴ In the same way these rain ceremonies took place in A.D. 839 (IV 27) (100 priests *tendoku* for 3 days in the *Hasshōin*, 八省院, also called *Chōdō-in*, 朝堂院, and *Daigokuden-in*, because the *Daigokuden* was its front building; in the *Hasshō-in* the Emperors ascended the Throne (*soku-i*), held audience and ruled the state with the principal officials) Ten days before

¹ *Nihon kōki*, Ch XIII, p. 68

² In A.D. 783 (VI) the Emperor Kwammu had issued an ordinance stating that there was a fixed number of *jōgakuji* in the Capital and Home provinces, and forbidding the people to build private Buddhist temples (*Genkō Shakusho*, Ch XXIII, p. 1034)

³ *Nihon kiryaku*, *Zempen*, Ch XIV, pp. 433, 456, 459

⁴ *Shoku Nihon kōki*, Ch III, p. 195.

messengers were sent with *gohei* and prayers for rain to the Shintō shrines of Matsu-no-o, Kamo, Kibune, Nibu Kawakami (the "Rain-Master") and Sumiyoshi, and the *Ninnōkyō* was read for 7 days in the 15 Great Buddhist Temples.¹

The *Daihannyakyō*, however, was the main text used in times of drought² and during the first half of this century there always were 100 priests who for three days performed *tendoku* of this text in the *Hasshōin*, especially in the *Daigokuden*. After Nimmmyō Tennō's death (A.D. 850, III 21), under the reign of the Emperor Montoku (A.D. 850—858, VIII 27), their number varied, also for other purposes (as averting pestilence and earthquakes), between 28 and 250 (A.D. 856, V 9, against pestilence) Montoku's ordinance of A.D. 852 (III 11) is strong evidence of the great importance he attached to this *sūtra* in causing rain, for he ordered the priests of all the great Buddhist temples to read a chapter of this text daily during five months (IV 1—VIII 3), after having assembled in the dining-hall at the time of the meal. He added that they must keep this rule every year, in order to save the country from the calamity of drought.³

This *sūtra* was, of course, also used to protect the harvest against storms and rain (A.D. 835, VI 29, in the 15 great Buddhist temples, 850, VII 5; 851, VIII 1, praying for good crops),⁴ but especially at times of pestilence it was believed to be a mighty saviour (A.D. 826, VI 6, against pestilence and for good crops, 100 priests in the Emperor's own palace and in the *Daigokuden*, for three days; A.D. 830, V 6, for seven days, against earthquake and plague; 833, III 20, 100 priests in the *Daigokuden*,

¹ *Shoku Nihon kōki*, Ch. VIII, pp 256 sq

² A.D. 842, VII 20, 844, VI 10, 845, V 1, 848 VII 6, 850 V 9, 13; 852, III 11, 857 X 3, *Shoku Nihon kōki*, Ch. XII, p. 317, Ch. XIV, p. 352, Ch. XV, p. 361, Ch. XVIII, p. 402, *Montoku Tennō jitsuroku*, Ch. I, p. 456, Ch. IV, p. 488, Ch. IX, p. 560

³ *Montoku Tennō jitsuroku*, Ch. IV, 488.

⁴ *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. IV, p. 207; *Montoku Tennō jitsuroku*, Ch. II, p. 459, Ch. III, p. 477.

three days, for good crops and against pestilence; 836, VII 16, in all provinces, and *gohei* sent to the famous Shintō gods, 836, VIII 24, 50 priests in the *Hasshōin*).¹ In A.D. 840, VI 13, the Emperor Nimmyō, who in A.D. 838, XI 1 had praised the great and unequalled blessing power of the *Hannya myōkyō*, the "wonderful *sūtras* of the *Prajñāpāramitā*", and of *Mahāyāna* in general, in averting plague and giving good harvests, and who had then commanded men to copy and offer the *Hannya Shinkyō* (Nanjō No. 20, *Prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya-sūtra*, translated by Hūen-tsang, one leaf),² now took refuge in the *Daihannyakyō* on account of the prevailing drought and pestilence. *Tendoku* of this *sūtra* had to take place during seven days in the day-time and *Yakushi kekwa* at night in the 15 great temples and in all famous Buddhist temples outside the Capital, and if in some mountain temple the *Daihannyakyō* might chance to be lacking, the *Kongō-hannyakyō* was to be read in its stead. The high officials were to do their utmost to promote this means of giving protection to the state and rest to the people (*gokoku anmin*), and it was forbidden to kill living beings (*kindan sesshō*) during the seven days of the ceremony. The *Ninnō-hannyakyō* had been expounded seven days before (VI 14) by a hundred priests, seated on high seats in the Palace, in order to counteract evil forebodings.³ Thus the four great *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtras* (*Daihannyakyō*, *Kongō-hannyakyō*, *Ninnō-hannyakyō* and *Hannya-shinkyō*, Nanjō Nos. 1, 10, 17 and 20), especially the two former texts, were in constant use against the demons of pestilence; with regard to the *Ninnōkyō*, as seen above (Ch. V, § 4, C, pp. 182 sqq.), this was destined in the following centuries to surpass all other *sūtras*.

Sometimes the *Daihannyakyō* and the *Kongō-hannyakō* were combined, as in A.D. 834 (IV 26), when in all Buddhist temples

¹ *Nihon kiryaku*, *Zempen*, Ch. xiv, pp. 453, 462, Ch. xv, p. 488, *Shoku Nihon kōki*, Ch. i, p. 175, Ch. v, p. 227.

² *Shoku Nihon kōki*, Ch. vii, p. 248.

³ *Ibid*, Ch. ix, p. 279.

of the capital *tendoku* of one copy of the former and 100,000 chapters of the latter was commanded "on behalf of the Spirits of Heaven and Earth", in order to drive away the violent pestilence.¹ Even in Shintō shrines under such dangerous circumstances the *Daihannyakyō* was read, e.g. in A.D. 856 (V 9), when 250 monks had to perform this ceremony for three days in the *Daigokuden*, the *Reinen-in*, and the Shintō sanctuaries of *Kamo* and *Matsu-no-o*.² "On behalf of the great god of Kamo" 1000 chapters of the *Kongō-hannyakyō* were read for three days in A.D. 839 (V 11) (probably to obtain rain);³ in this way the protection of these gods against the demons of disease and drought was secured by causing their salvation by means of the *sūtras*. They were not yet, as in later times, considered as *avatāras*, manifestations, of Buddhas or Bodhisattvas.

Earthquakes were stopped by reading the *Daihannyakyō* in the *Daigokuden* (100 priests, 3 days; A.D. 827, XII 14), or seven days (830, V 6), or in the *Shishinden* (850, III 5), or in the *Tōgū* (the Palace of the Prince Imperial) (50 priests, 3 days; probably on account of the heavy earthquake of some days before; 852, X 27).⁴

Bad omens, especially when they had appeared in the Imperial Palace, were also suppressed by means of this powerful *sūtra*. When in A.D. 836 (XII 6) the pagoda of *Shitennōji* had been destroyed by lightning, the Emperor Nimmō ordered *tendoku* of the *Daihannyakyō* for three days and three nights, incessantly, in 19 temples, namely Tōdaiji, Shin-Yakushiji, Kōfukuji, Gwangōji, Daranji, Shitennōji etc.⁵ The following year (A.D. 837, IV 25) at the request of the high-priests in twenty important temples this

¹ Ibid, Ch. III, p. 193

² *Montoku Tennō jitsuroku*, Ch. VIII, p. 534.

³ *Shoku Nihon kōki*, Ch. VIII, p. 258.

⁴ *Nihon kiryaku*, *Zempo*, Ch. XIV, pp. 457, 462, *Shoku Nihon kōki*, Ch. XX, p. 430, *Montoku jitsuroku*, Ch. IV, p. 491.

⁵ *Shoku Nihon kōki*, Ch. V, p. 230

sūtra was read in the day-time and *Yakushi Nyorai*'s holy name was praised at night during three days of each of the three decades of three months (V—VII), in order to expel the evil influences of calamitous and strange events in heaven and on earth, which had happened of late.¹

In A.D. 839 (II 15) a comet caused the *Hannya-shinkyō* to be read in *Tōji* and *Saigi*, the two celebrated *Shingon* sanctuaries of Kyōto, and five months later (VII 5) *tendoku* of the *Daihannyakyō* took place in the *Shishūden* and the *Jōneiden* of the Palace, performed by 60 priests, because of strange apparitions within the "forbidden" residence of the Emperor.² For the same reason in A.D. 843 (V 8) a hundred priests read the *Yakushikyō* for three days in the *Seiryōden*, practised the *Yakushihō* in the *Jōneiden*, and performed *tendoku* of the *Daihannyakyō* in the *Daigokuden*; moreover, all the leading officials had to eat acid food, and the killing of animals was strictly forbidden. Three months later such evil omens were again averted by a hundred priests, performing *tendoku* of the latter *sūtra* in the *Daigokuden*, thirty of whom had besides to practise mystic ceremonies during five days in the *Shingon-in*, Kōbō Daishi's chapel in the Palace, and the chief officials had again to fast.³ We might doubt whether the *sūtra* was also read in the mystic chapel, did not the annals state that in A.D. 845 (III 6) on account of strange apparitions (evil influences of spirits, called *mono no ke*, 物怪, the usual term) a hundred priests performed *tendoku* of the *Daihannyakyō* during five days in the *Shishūden*, *Seiryōden*, *Jōneiden* and *Shingon-in*, and that at the same time they practised *darani-hō* or mystic rites.⁴

Not only in the country, but also at sea and abroad the protecting power of this *sūtra* was supreme. In A.D. 838 (V 1)

¹ Ibid, Ch. vi, p. 235

² Ibid, Ch. viii, pp. 254, 259.

³ Ibid, Ch. xiii, pp. 337, 343

⁴ Ibid, Ch. xv, p. 360 Cf. A.D. 847, III 11, Ch. xvii, p. 383.

the Emperor Nimmyō, who a month before (IV 5) had ordered the reading of the *Kauryū-kyō* (海龍王經, *Sāgara-Nāgarāja-sūtra*, the *Sūtra* on the Nāga-king of the Sea, Nanjō No 456, translated by Dharmaraksha I of the Western Tsin dynasty between A.D. 266 and 317) in the *gokinai* and all other provinces from the month of departure to China of the Ambassador Fujiwara no Ason Tsunetsugu and the Vice-Ambassador Ono no Ason Takamura until the day of their return to Japan, at their request issued an ordinance to the effect that not only that *sūtra* should be strictly expounded the whole of that time in all provinces, but that also during the same period *tendoku* of the *Daihannyakyō* should be performed there.¹ The following year (A.D. 839, III 1) in a similar ordinance he stated that these ceremonies had to take place also in the 15 Great Temples, and that in this way the three ships of the Ambassadors should be protected against wind and waves.²

The person of the Emperor himself was protected against evil spirits by three days *tendoku* of the *Daihannyakyō* in the Palace when he was about to change his place of residence, as e.g. in A.D. 842 (XI 14) (59 priests).³

These facts are clear evidence of the eminent blessing power ascribed to this *sūtra* during the first half of the ninth century, especially by the Emperors Nimmyō and Montoku, its power to avert all kinds of evil from His Majesty and all his subjects, from high to low, from minister to peasant. But it was not yet used at fixed times of the year, as instituted by Montoku Tennō's son and successor Seiwa Tennō (A.D. 858—876), the Emperor of the famous *Jōkwan* era (859—876), in the beginning of his reign (A.D. 859, II 25). It was, of course, not Seiwa himself, who established this rule, for he was the first child on the Throne and his grandfather, Fujiwara no Yoshifusa (804—872), governed

¹ Ibid., Ch. VII, pp. 244 sq

² Ibid., Ch. VIII, p. 255

³ Ibid., Ch. XII, p. 328

in his place as *Sesshō* or Regent, in this way initiating the glorious Fujiwara period. From A.D. 859 to 876 sixty (sometimes 100, 120, or 80, but mostly 60) priests used to perform *tendoku* of the *Daihannyakyō* for 3 days in the four seasons (*shiki*, 四季), namely in the second (or third), fifth, eighth and tenth months, first in the *Tōgū* (A.D. 859 and 860), then in the *Naiden*, *Shushinden* or *Daigokuden*. The days were not fixed, as was the case with the *Gosaie* or *Saishōe* of the *Daigokuden* (I 8—14) (see above, Ch. XI, § 8, A, p. 471) and the *Butsumyō sange* (also celebrated in the Palace, namely in the *Naiden*, XII 19—21), the latter having in A.D. 858 (XII 18) been instituted as a regular yearly ceremony (cf. above, Ch. VIII, Rites of Repentance, § 19 B, pp. 384). After Seiwa's abdication (A.D. 876) Fujiwara no Moto-tsune, *Sesshō* of the young Emperor Yōzei, changed the rule and caused the *Daihannya-e* to be held twice instead of four times a year, namely in spring and autumn (in the third and eighth months; the first time in A.D. 877, III 26 and VII 7, because that year it was also a prayer for rain).¹ In A.D. 898 (III 14, VIII 5), after Uda Tennō's abdication, when the Emperor Daigo had ascended the throne, the term *Ki-midok(k)yō* (*dokyō*) (季御讀經), "Imperial *Sūtra*-reading of the (two) seasons" (spring and autumn), came into constant use to designate the vernal and autumnal *Daihannya* ceremonies.² As to the term *Midok(k)yō*, this was used for the first time in A.D. 891 (II 13), when 120 priests were invited to the Palace, to read this *sūtra*.³ In A.D. 906 (X 8) we read of *Hannya midok(k)yō*, performed in the *Seiryōden*, against bad omens,⁴ and from A.D. 915 (V 6) the *Ninnōkyō-midok(k)yō* and the *Rinji Ninnōkyō midok(k)yō* (VI 20, in the *Daigokuden* against pestilence and for rain)⁵ show

¹ *Nihon kiryaku, Zempo*, Ch. xix, pp. 673, 676.

² *Nihon kiryaku, Kōhen*, Ch. I, pp. 774 sq.

³ *Nihon kiryaku, Zempo*, Ch. xx, p. 756.

⁴ L I, *Kōhen*, Ch. I, p. 786.

⁵ L I, Ch. I, p. 797.

the ever increasing influence of that *sūtra*, gradually overshadowing that of the *Daihannyakyō*.

As to the sects which made use of the latter *sūtra*, we learn from the biographies of the priests, that Dengyō Daishū wrote on this text and that the *Tendai* sect was its principal propagator. In the ninth century we find the *Tendai* priests Entei (延庭) (A.D. 860), Ensai (延最) (A.D. 885) and Sōō (相應) (A.D. 900) mentioned as its devout readers and expounders.¹

§ 4. *The Daihannyakyō in the tenth century.*
Rain ceremonies in A.D. 948.

In the Engi era (A.D. 901—923) annual *Daihannya-e* were celebrated regularly with great pomp in *Daianji*, *Kōfukuji*, *Tōdaiji* and *Yakushiji*, and being *choku-e* or "Meetings fixed by Imperial Ordinance" they were attended by musicians from the Department of Music or by Court officials (*miyabito*) sent by the Department of State Affairs.²

In the annals of the tenth century besides the vernal and autumnal *mudok(k)yō Daihannya* reading is only mentioned from time to time, because the *Ninnōkyō* had acquired predominance. After a long period of silence we read about *tendoku* of the *Daihannyakyō* in 21 temples, and performed by 20 priests in the *Kokiden* of the Palace (A.D. 931, intercalary V 27). The reason is not given, but the heavy rains and earthquakes of that month may have caused this measure.³ In A.D. 935 (II 29) the Empress-Dowager made an offering of the *Daihannyakyō* on *Tendai-zan* (i.e. Hieiizan), which indicates the close connection between this text and the *Tendai* sect.⁴ In times of drought or pestilence

¹ Washio, pp. 108, 403, 742.

² *Dayu* III, p. 3208, I, s v *Daihannya-e*

³ *Nihon kiryaku, kōhen*, Ch. II, p. 815

⁴ *Ibid.*, Ch. II, p. 819.

or small-pox the ancient Palace ceremony was used,¹ and the *Kongō-hannyakyō* against evil omens (949 III 30, VII 25, 975 XII 21), but the *Ninnōkyō* had become the principal *Prajñāpāramitā* text.

A typical specimen of the various religious measures taken at this time against heavy drought is found in A.D. 948 (V and VI). First of all the Emperor Murakami went to the *Hasshō-in* and offered *gohei* to all *Shintō* temples, in order to pray for rain; then a *Rinji Ninnō-e* was held. Messengers with *gohei* were sent to the *Shintō* rain-gods of *Nibu* and *Kibune*. *Midokyō* followed in the "Dragon-hole" on Mount Murōbu in Uda district, Yamato province (*Ryūketsu jinja*, 龍穴神社, a *Shintō* shrine, famous for its rain giving power),² performed by 10 priests for three days. This ceremony was led by the *Risshi Kūsei* (空晴), a *Hossō* priest of *Kōfukuji*. Not only the Emperor himself, but also the *denjō-bito* or Palace officials sent rain-prayers to the *Shintō* gods of *Nibu* and *Kibune*, with offerings of race-horses. From olden times horses used to be presented to the rain-gods.³ Messengers were also sent to the five Imperial Mausolea in order to pray for rain to the Imperial Ancestors, and Buddhist priests had to go to the shrines of *Hachuman* and *Kamo*, and for five days pray there for "sweet rain and a good harvest"; but when it began to rain in the evening of V 15, this was ascribed to the divine power of the *Ninnōkyō*. The next day, however, a hundred priests were invited to the *Daigokuden* and requested to read the *Daihannyakyō*. At the same time the *Shingon* priests began to try to obtain rain by means of the famous rite of the Peacock *Sūtra* (*Kujakukyō-hō*, 孔雀經法), which was afterwards so often used in times of drought, illness of the Emperor,

¹ A.D. 935, V 4 (rain), 947 VIII, 14 (*Ninnōkyō* and *Daihannyakyō* against small-pox), 948 V and VI (rain), 957 VI 18–21, 960 VI 14 (plague), 961 VI 25 (rain), 993 VI 20–24, 994 VIII 10–13, 995 V 26, 1001 V 29, all against pestilence

² Cf. the present writer's "*The Dragon in China and Japan*", Book II, Ch. III, § 5, pp. 168 sqq.

³ *Ibid.*, Ch. III, § 2, pp. 156 sqq.

or when the Empress was in labour ¹ This time it was practised in the *Shūgon-in* of the Palace by the *Risshū Kwankū* (寬空, A.D. 882—970), in order to “pray for sweet rain”. When the reading of the *Daihannyakyō* was finished, the Emperor presented *dosha* (度者, novices, new *shamī* or *śrāmaṇeras*) to the monks, but no offerings (*fuse*, which he often gave after such ceremonies) Notwithstanding all these Shintō and Buddhist rites, the drought continued. Therefore on VI 2 *tendoku* of the *Ninnōkyō* commenced in seven *Shintō* Shrines; after three days the same ceremony began again, once more for three days, in all Shintō shrines, in the Dragon-hole, and in *Tōdaiji* In the mean time the *sōgo* (Buddhist high-priests) and lesser monks were despatched to 11 Shintō sanctuaries and to the Dragon-hole, and the monks of the Seven Great Buddhist temples (of Nara), having assembled in the *Daibutsuden* of *Tōdaiji*, had to say prayers for rain. After having sent *gohei* to Ise and to the sixteen Shintō shrines, the Emperor ordered the *Risshū Kwankū*, the *Shūgon* priest mentioned above, to practise the *Shōukyōhō* (請雨經法), i.e. the rite of the famous *Mahāmegha* (Great Cloud) *sūtra*, so often recited in the “Sacred Spring Park” (*Shinzen-en*, 神泉苑).² On the 25th day of the sixth month the *Dairi shūhō* or “Palace rites” (probably *Shūgon* ceremonies) began, and from VI 30 to VII 2 ten priests performed a *Rinji-mudokyō* or “Special *Sūtra* reading” in the (*Shūgon*)*in*. On the fourth of the seventh month the festival was held of the wind gods of the Shintō shrines of Hirose and Tatsuta, also givers of rain,³ finally, on the sixth, the rain fell in torrents and a thunderstorm burst forth!⁴

As to the reading of *sūtras* in famous *Shintō* shrines, this was also done in A.D. 957 (VI 1), when one of the high-priests,

¹ Cf the present writer's treatise on “*Die Pfauenkonigin in China und Japan, Festschrift Hirth* of the *Ostasiat. Zeitschrift* (Jahrg VIII, pp. 370—387).

² Cf. *The Dragon in China and Japan*, Introduction § 4, pp 25 sqq, Book II, Ch. III, pp. 159 sqq

³ Ibid, Book II, Ch III, § 1

⁴ *Nihon kiryaku, kōhen*, Ch III, pp 852 sq

leading ten others, recited the *Ninnōkyō* in each of the 14 *Shintō* shrines, known for their blessing power and designated for this purpose, in order to avert the prevailing drought and plague. This was soon followed (VI 18—20) by *tendoku* of the *Daihannyakyō* by a hundred priests in the *Nanden* and the Emperor's private palace.¹ In A.D. 960 (V 13) the *Daisōzu* Kwankū (the same *Shingon* priest as in A.D. 948) again practised the *Kujakukyō-hō* or "Rite of the Peacock-sūtra", to stop the calamity of drought and pestilence. Eight days later a *Ninnōe* was held (V 21), and on VI 5 the Emperor Murakami ordered the *Daihannyakyō* to be read in the *Dai Nichi-in* (a sanctuary of *Dai-Nichi Nyorai*, probably belonging to the *Shingon* or *Hossō* sect) for 50 days! Moreover, a hundred monks were invited to the *Nanden* and the *Seiryōden*, to perform *tendoku* of the *Daihannyakyō* against the prevailing pestilence, and the *Daisōzu* Kwankū celebrated a sacrificial service in honour of *Fudō Myōō* (*Acala Vidyārāja*) in the *Jyuden* (VI 14). The next month the Emperor endeavoured to expel the drought by specially sending *gohei* to Ise and to all the other great *Shintō* shrines; *sūtras* were read in the Dragon-hole, and the *Onyōryō* held a rain-praying festival (*usai, amagoi no matsuri*, 雲祭, in the *Shunzen-en*. At the same time messengers were despatched to the five Imperial Mausolea.²

In the sixth month of the following year (A.D. 961, VI 12—28) similar rain-prayers and offerings of *gohei* were made by Imperial messengers in the *Shintō* sanctuaries of Ise, Iwashimizu, and 15 other *Shintō* shrines, and 180 monks of the Seven Great Buddhist temples of Nara read the *Daihannyakyō* in *Tōdaiji* from VI 15 to 29, whilst *sūtra* reading in order to obtain rain also took place in the *Daigokuden*. At the same time the festival of the Windgods of Hirose and Tatsuta was held, and the *Onyōryō* celebrated the "Five Dragons Festival" (*Goryūsai*, 五龍祭).

¹ Ibid., Ch. IV, p. 869.

² Ibid., Ch. IV, p. 881.

When on the 29th it began to rain, this was specially ascribed to the recital of the *sūtra*.¹

Thus we see how in the tenth century the *Prajñāpāramitā*, represented by the *Daihannyakyō* and the *Ninnōkyō*, was still used as a powerful saviour from drought and pestilence (the *Kongō-hannyakyō* averting evil omens), but that at the same time the mystic rites of *Mahāmayūri* (*Kujaku-ō*) and *Acala Vidyārāja* (*Fudō Myōō*), the rain-prayers to the Shintō gods and Imperial Ancestors, and the Taoistic *usai* and *goryūsai*, celebrated by the *Onyōryō*, were put into practice in order to save the country from those calamities

Another version of the 10th *sūtra* of the *Daihannyakyō*, the *Rishu-hannyakyō* (理趣般若經, Nanjō No. 1033, a later translation of No. 18, in its turn a later version of the 10th *sūtra* of No. 1) was used in A.D. 960, XII 1, when for three days three priests read it at the *Kenreimon*, one of the outer gates of the Palace, in order to consecrate the Emperor's new place of residence. *Tendoku* of the same *sūtra*, of the *Ninnōkyō* and the *Tenchi-hachiyō-kyō* (天地八陽經, probably Nanjō No. 300, 佛說八陽神咒經, "Sūtra spoken by the Buddha on the eight pure and spiritual mantras (of Heaven and Earth)") was performed by ten famous priests in the newly built *Ryōkiden* A.D. 961, IX 19, evidently also in connection with its consecration, i.e. to expel all evil influences from the new building.² As to the *Ninnōkyō*, this was called the "King of Sūtras" (*Kyō-ō*), a term sometimes applied to and used in the Lotus *Sūtra*, the *Saishōōkyō* and the *Shunjikwangyō* (Nanjō No. 955),³ in A.D. 963 (VIII 23), when we read that the "King of Sūtras" was expounded in the day-time, and *Mandō-e* held at night.⁴

¹ Ibid, Ch. iv, p. 887

² Ibid, Ch. iv, pp 885, 888.

³ *Dayiten*, p. 253, 3, s v. *Kyō-ō*.

⁴ *Nihon kiryaku, Kōhen*, Ch. iv, p 898.

§ 5. *The Daihannyakyō in the eleventh century.*

In the eleventh century the *Daihannyakyō* was used against pestilence (A.D. 1001, V 29, *tendoku* of it at the 12 gates of the Palace), but the principal text read for this purpose was the *Ninnōkyō* (A.D. 1001, III 10, *Hyakuza-Ninnōkō* in the *Daigokuden*, for seven days, the Emperor proceeded to the *Hasshō-in* in order to pray for deliverance from the plague; V 9 the *eki-gami* or Gods of Pestilence were worshipped, and III 22 a special festival of Hachiman of Iwashimizu was held). Other important texts were, of course, the *Hokkekyō* (the *Hokke hakkō* or "Eight Expoundings of the Lotus *sūtra*" and the *Hokke sanjūkō* ("30 expoundings") were important festivals), and the *Jumyōkyō* (壽命經, *Sūtra* of Long Life", i.e. the *Bussetsu issai Nyorai kongō jumyō daran kyō*, 佛說一切如來金剛壽命陀羅尼經, Nanjō No 960) In A.D. 1027, XI 14, Jōtōmon-in, i.e. Fujiwara no Akiko, Michinaga's daughter, consort of Ichijō Tennō and mother of Go-Ichijō and Go-Suzaku, who the year before had become a nun, ordered 26000 chapters of this *Jumyōkyō* to be read by means of the *tendoku* system in all Buddhist temples, in order to cure her father, the famous Michinaga, and at the same time the Empress, her sister Ishi, caused the *Konkōwomyōkyō*, the *Nehangyō*, and the *Yumakyō* to be read, whereas the Kwampaku Sadaijin Yorimichi, his eldest son, gave offerings to ten thousand monks; in the *Yakushidō* of *Hōjōji* a hundred priests read the *Ninnōkyō*, and a hundred other monks recited the *Fudō Shingon* or *Mantra* of *Acala Vidyā-rāja* a million times. But the next month (XII 4) the greatest of the Fujiwara's died, as a faithful believer in *Amatābha*, in the *Muryōjuin* of *Hōjōji*.² The fact that the *Daihannyakyō* was not used in those critical days is clear evidence that it had lost its former importance. Yet it was still occasionally read in the *Daigokuden* by 60 priests (A.D. 1028,

¹ Ibid, Ch x, pp. 1046 sq

² Ibid, Ch XIII, pp. 1144 sq.

V 3; 1030 IV 27)¹ or in the *Nanden* by 600 priests, for 3 days (A.D. 1099, VI 23)² against pestilence, but the *Ninnokyō*, the *Jumyōkyō* (A.D. 1017, VI 22; 1021, I 28; 1030, V 19, 1000 priests in the *Daigokuden*),³ the *Kwannongyō* (Nanjō No. 137) (A.D. 1030 V 24, *tendoku* in all provinces) and the *Kujakukyō* (the Peacock *sūtra*) (1099, VII 1) were powerful rivals in this respect, and also the *Yakushikyō* was used against the plague by Michinaga (A.D. 1020, XII 21) who for seven days practised the *Shichibutsu-Yakushihō* on Hieizan⁴

The same *sūtras* as well as the *Mahāmeghā sūtra* (*Shō-u-kyō*) were read instead of the *Daihannyakyō* against drought, but when pestilence and drought came together, as in A.D. 1028 (V 3), the *Daihannyakyō* was still deemed a powerful protector. This was also the case when the Emperor was ill, as in A.D. 1020 (IX 13), when 20 priests were requested to perform *tendoku* of it, and in A.D. 1022 (VI 4), when *mudok(k)yō* of the *Daihannyakyō* and the *Hokkekyō* took place in the Palace, *Tōdaiji*, and *Kōfukuji*.⁶

That greater importance was attached to the *Jumyōkyō* than to the *Daihannyakyō* is evident from the fact that the former *sūtra* used to be read by a much larger number of monks, namely 1000 (as in A.D. 1017, VI 22; 1021, I 28 and 1030, V 19, in the *Daigokuden*, against pestilence); this was also the case with the *Kwannongyō* (as in A.D. 1032, VI 27, in the *Daigokuden*, for rain; 1099, II 24, in the same building, against the unrest of the world).⁷

The nobles of that time, in the first place the great Michinaga, used to copy and sacrifice *sūtras* in the temples or in the Palace.

¹ Ibid., Ch. xiv, pp. 1148, 1155

² *Honchō seki* (*Kokushu taikō*, Vol. VIII), Kōwa 1 (1099), p. 342

³ *Nihon kiryaku, kōhen*, Ch. XIII, pp. 1110, 1125, 1154

⁴ Ibid., Ch. XIII, p. 1125.

⁵ Ibid., Ch. xiv, p. 1148

⁶ Ibid., Ch. XIII, pp. 1124, 1130

⁷ *Nihon kiryaku* and *Honchō seki*, l.l.

These texts were the *Daihannyakyō* (as in A.D. 1004, III 25, in *Ninnaji*, by Michinaga; in 1005, X 22, and 1009, V 23, at the beginning of the *mido(k)kyō*, in the *Seiryōden*), the *Hokkekyō* (an offering of a thousand copies of this text and of more than 3000 pictures representing Buddhist figures was made in A.D. 1010, III 21 by the foreign *Tendai* priest Gyōen, called "the Saint with the furs", *Kawa shōnin*); the *Issaikyō* (the whole canon, offered in the *Zenden* of the Palace); and the *Jumyōkyō* (copied by the Court nobles (*kuge*) against the pestilence prevailing in A.D. 1017, VI 23, 1000 priests, invited to the Palace, performed *tendoku* of this text in the *Daigokuden*)¹

The term *mido(k)kyō*, "Imperial *sūtra*-reading", was now used not only in connection with the *Daihannyakyō* (A.D. 1099, VI 23, against pestilence), but also with the *Ninnōkyō* (A.D. 1019, VIII 6), the *Saishōkyō* (A.D. 1068, VIII 8—10), the *Kujakukyō* (A.D. 1087, VII 29, three days, for rain, in the *Shinzen-en*, this *sūtra* is called here the "King of *Sūtras*", because it caused rain), and the *Kwannongyō* (A.D. 1099, II 24, 1000 priests in the *Daigokuden* against unrest of the world).² As to the *ki-mido(k)kyō*, the vernal and autumnal Imperial *sūtra*-reading, these ceremonies were still celebrated regularly in the third, fourth or fifth and tenth month, each time for three days, and since no other *sūtras* were mentioned with regard to these rites, we may suppose that the ancient tradition of using the *Daihannyakyō* for this purpose was still unchanged.

§ 6 *The Daihannyakyō from the 12th to the 19th century.*

In the 12th and 13th centuries the *Daihannya mido(k)kyō* is mentioned occasionally, as e.g. in A.D. 1145 (V 6), when the appearance of a comet caused *mido(k)kyō* by a thousand priests in *Hōshōji*;

¹ *Nihon kiryaku, kōhen*, Ch. XI, XIII and XIV.

² *Honchō seki*, pp. 308, 320, 342, *Nihon kiryaku, kōhen*, Ch. XIII, pp. 1121.

they read the *Ninnōkyō*, but for three days (V 8—10) 60 priests read the *Daihannyakyō* in the *Nanden*, and 1000 monks held *mudo(k)kyō* of the *Kwannongyō* in *Tōdaiji* and *Enryakuji* (*Kegon* and *Tendai* sects). *Saishō-mihakkō*, *Ninnōe* (in the *Nanden*, VI 16) and *Ninnōkō* were also held in order to expel the evil omen.¹

Two years later (A.D. 1147, II 10) the *Daihannyakyō* was copied and sacrificed by the highest officials in the *Nanden*, *tendoku* of it took place for three days, a *Rinji-Ninnōe* was held, and special amnesty was granted, because once more a comet had been seen in the first month of the year.²

Between A.D. 1177 and 1181 the *Tendai* priest Nichi-in (日胤), having received a secret command from Minamoto no Yoritomo, prayed for the glory of the Minamoto family. For this purpose he went as a pilgrim to the Hachiman temple of *Iwashimizu*, a famous sanctuary, where he stayed during a thousand days, silently reciting the *Daihannyakyō* in order to obtain Hachiman's divine assistance.³ In the same way in later times another *Tendai* priest, Jishō (慈抄) (1291—1368), made a pilgrimage to the Great Shrine of Ise, where he performed *tendoku* of the *Daihannyakyō* for a thousand days. He prayed for the divine protection of the Goddess (considered to be a manifestation of *Dai-Nichi-Nyorai*), and actually received a miraculous revelation from her.⁴

In A.D. 1175 a *karabitsu* ("Chinese box") was made for the *Daihannyakyō*, which is still preserved in Nanatsu-dera, Nagoya. The *Kokkwa* (No. 368, VII) gives the picture and the texts on either side of the inner lid of this box. Śākyamuni, attended by two standing Bodhisattvas (*Mañjuśrī* and *Samantabhadra*) and two great Disciples (probably *Ānanda* and *Mahākāśyapa*), is seated cross-legged on a lotus throne, raising both hands (the right with its palm in front), and with two round haloes behind his

¹ *Honchō seki*, Kyūan 1 (1145), p. 506.

² *Ibid*, Kyūan 3, pp. 570, 579.

³ Washio, p. 911, 1, s.v. *Nichi-in*.

⁴ Washio, p. 430, 2, s.v. *Jishō*.

body and head. He is surrounded by the Sixteen Good Spirits (十六善神, *jūroku zenjin*), mentioned in the *Dhāraṇī-saṅgraha-sūtra* (Nanjō No. 363, translated A.D. 653–654 by the Central-Indian śramaṇa Atigupta(?)). These are Yaksha generals, Nāga kings, etc., or according to some authors the Twelve Yaksha kings, known as Yakushi Nyorai's attendants (cf. below, Ch. XIV, §§ 1 and 3) and the Four Deva Kings (*Shitennō*), who act as protectors of the *Sūtra* and its devout readers. Like those Twelve Spirit-Generals, they are represented as warriors armed with swords and spears, bows and arrows, ready to drive evil demons away.

In A.D. 1260 (III 16) *Daihannya mido(k)kyō* was performed in the Palace and (VI 12) *tendoku* of this *sūtra* was ordered to be practised in the Buddhist and Shintō temples of all provinces; also the *Ninnokyō* had to be read, on behalf of the repose of the country and in order to put a stop to the prevailing pestilence.¹ For the same reason in A.D. 1283 (VI 22) 30 priests celebrated the *Daihannya mido(k)kyō* for three days in the *Nanden*, and in 1291 (VI 15), when prayers for rain were said in *Kōfukuyū*, the same *sūtra* was copied and sacrificed, and 1000 priests received offerings; that day it began to rain.² In 1296 (IX 25) we read of the "usual (*kōrei*) *Daihannya tendoku* in the *Wakamiya* of *Kasuga*", which was lengthened, and XII 1 of the same year this festival is again mentioned; that night there was a strange light on *Kasuga-yama*.³

In A.D. 1275–81, when the Mongols attacked Japan, the *Daihannyakyō* is not spoken of until 1281. The *Shūngon* rites were practised, such as the *Fudō*, *Aizen-ō*, *Kujakukyō*, *Fukūkensaku* ceremonies, in honour of *Acala* and *Rāga Vidyā-rāja*, *Mahāmayūrī* and *Amoghapāśa Avalokiteśvara*, the *Saishōkō* and the

¹ *Azuma kagami*, Ch. XLIX, Bunō 1 (1260), *Zoku Kokushi taikō*, Vol. V, p. 654

² *Zoku Shūgushō* (*Zoku Kokushi taikō*, Vol. I), Ch. vi, pp. 164, 264

³ *Ibid.*, Ch. x, p. 310; cf. above Ch. XII, § 1, p. 493 (in China in A.D. 663)

Ninnōkō, and the ten kinds of offerings (*jūshu kuyō*) in connection with the "August *Sūtra* (the Lotus) according to the Law" (*Nyohō mukyō*) were made, the usual *Hokke-e* and *Yuima-e* took place, but no special *Daihannya*-ceremony is mentioned from 1275 to 1279. In 1281, however, when the Mongols returned and were more dangerous than ever, besides all those rites and the highly important *Godampō* (the Ceremony of the Five Altars in honour of the *Godaison* or "Five Great Venerable Ones", the *Vidyārājas*), for seven days (VII 26) in the *Hachiman* shrine of *Iwashimizu tendoku* was performed of the *Sonshō-darani*, the *Issaikyō*, a hundred copies of the *Daihannyakyō* and the *Ninnōkyō*, by 500 *Vinaya* priests led by *Shien Shōnin* of *Saidaiji* (思圓上人, i.e. the *Kairitsu* priest Eison, 睿尊, A.D. 1201—1290).¹ The fact that at such a dangerous time the *Daihannyakyō* was so little used indicates that other texts and ceremonies, especially the *Shingon* rites, had taken its place as chief protectors of the country. Yet the *Jōdo*, *Zen* and other sects also used it, and from the *Karoku* era (A.D. 1225—1227) it was often printed for the *tendoku* at the *Hannya-e*. The work entitled *Daihannya kōshiki* (講式) or "*Daihannya* rites" deals with the 1297 *gi* (meanings) of the 16 *e* (meetings, i.e. the *sūtras* spoken in those meetings) of the *sūtra*.²

In the fifteenth century (A.D. 1404, III 10) we find the *Nyohō Daihannya-hō* or "Ceremony of the *Daihannya*, celebrated according to the Law", performed on *Kitayama* near *Kyōto* (probably in the *Tendai* shrine *Kōryūji*) by order of the *Shōgun* *Ashikaga* no *Yoshimitsu*, who in 1395 had become a monk. The leader of the ceremony was a *Shingon* priest, the *Daisōjō* *Dōi*.³

In A.D. 1449 (VII 28), when on account of floods, earthquakes and plague the name of the *Bun-an* period was changed into

¹ *Zoku Shugushō*, Ch. IV, pp. 105 sqq., Ch. V, pp. 143 sqq., 147; cf. Washio, p. 78, 1, s.v. *Eison*

² *Dayū*, III, p. 3208, 1, s.v. *Daihannya-e*

³ *Zoku Shugushō*, Ch. XXXI, p. 77

Hōtoku, *tendoku* of the *Daihannyakyō*, *Ninnōkyō* and *Hannya-shinkyō* was ordered in all provinces.¹

Otherwise the *Daihannyakyō* was seldom mentioned. In A.D. 1598 (IX 16—22), shortly after Hideyoshi's death (VIII 18), the Emperor Go Yōzei fell ill, and in order to pray for his recovery the *Shūmon* priest Kūshō of *Daikakuji*, an Imperial Prince, performed the *Daihannya-hō* in the Small Palace for seven days. At the same time the Daisōjō Dōjō (evidently a *Shūmon* priest) practised the *Shōdengu* in Kuroto, in worship of *Daishō Kwangī-den* (*Ganeśa*, *Vināyaka*) *Goma* (*homa*) offerings were made in the *Shishūden* and in Kuroto ("Black Door"), prayers were said in all Shintō and Buddhist shrines, and for seven days (X 8—14) the *Ninnō-hannya-daihō* was celebrated in the Palace by an Imperial Prince, Sai-in Nyūdō. The following month (XI 1—6) the *Sonshō-daihō* in worship of the Great Bear was practised in the *Seiryōden* by the Daisōjō Dōjō and high Court officials. In short, the most elaborate and powerful ceremonies were performed in order to cure His Majesty, whose health was, however, not restored until the twelfth month, when a physician examined him and gave him medicine!² It is a remarkable fact that the *Prajñāpāramitā*, as represented by its two most important *sūtras*, was still used by the Court among the more modern ceremonies of that time as a potent weapon against the demons of disease, menacing the precious life of the Emperor. Yet it had lost its prominent position in the ceremonial world, and in the annals of the seventeenth century we only find the *Hannya-shinkyō*, copied in A.D. 1651 (IV 16) by the *Hon-in* (the Emperor Go Mi-no-o, who had abdicated in 1629) and sacrificed in the *Tōshōgū*, Ieyasu's mortuary sanctuary, four days before Iemitsu's death.³ In A.D. 1693 the *Shūmon* priest Jōgon (淨嚴) (1693—1702) at the head of 30 other monks celebrated a *kokutō* a National

¹ Ibid., Ch. xxxvii, p. 284.

² Ibid., Ch. LI, p. 685.

³ Ibid., Ch. LVIII, p. 68

Praying service, performing *tendoku* of the *Daihannyakyo* on behalf of the military fortune (*bu-un*) of the Shōgun Tsunayoshi, and in A.D. 1701 he cured the Shōgun's son of small-pox by means of *tendoku* of the *Hannya* (possibly the same text, or the *Hannya-shinkyō* or *Kongō hannyakyō*).¹ A hundred years later (A.D. 1794) the *Tendai* priest Ryōgon (良嚴) (1742—1814) copied more than 200 chapters of the *Daihannyakyō*.² In the 18th century the *Tendai* priest Jishū (慈周) († 1801) read it 36 times from the beginning to the end.³

We thus learn from the biographies of those priests, that neither the *Shūngon* nor the *Tendai* sect (from olden times its principal propagator) had quite forgotten the great blessing power of this *sūtra*.

¹ Washio, pp 666 sq., s v *Jōgon*

² Washio, p. 1178, 1, s v. *Ryōgon*

³ Washio, p 426, 1, s.v. *Jishū*

CHAPTER XIII.

THE KONGŌ-HANNYAKYŌ OR VAJRACCHEDIKĀ- PRAJÑĀPĀRAMITĀ-SŪTRA ("THE DIAMOND CUTTER") (NANJŌ No. 10).

§ 1. *The text and translations of the Kongō-hannyakyō.*

This "Diamond Cutter" is, as Sir Charles Eliot remarks, "still one of the most venerated books of devotion in China and Japan". The Buddha explains to Subhūti, who in the Jetavana park in the presence of a crowd of 1250 great Bhikshus asks him about the Bodhisattva path, that "perfect knowledge transcends all distinctions; it recognises the illusory nature of all individuality and the truth of sameness, the never-changing one behind the everchanging many. In this sense it is said to perceive nothing and know nothing".¹

It is curious indeed that a text with such extremely nihilistic ideas became so popular among the Chinese and Japanese Buddhists. The reason of this popularity may be the fact, that in this short text the Buddha repeatedly praises the great blessing power of the text for those who with a devout heart read, copy and keep it.

"Then again, o Subhūti, that part of the world in which, after taking from this treatise of the Law one *gāthā* of four lines only, it should be preached or explained, would be like a *caitya* (holy shrine) for the whole world of gods, men, and spirits; what should we say then of those who learn the whole of this treatise

¹ Sir Charles Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, Vol. II, p. 41

of the Law to the end, who repeat it, understand it, and fully explain it to others? They, o Subhūti, will be endowed with the highest wonder (i.e. with what excites the highest wonder) And in that place, o Subhūti, there dwells the teacher, or one after another holding the place of the wise preceptor" . . . "And again, o Subhūti, if any sons or daughters of good families will learn this treatise of the Law, will remember, recite, and understand it, and fully explain it to others, they, o Subhūti, are known by the Tathāgata through his Buddha-knowledge, they are seen, o Subhūti, by the Tathāgata through his Buddha-eye. All these beings, o Subhūti, will produce and hold fast an immeasurable and innumerable stock of merit" As to the one *gāthā* of four lines, to be taken from this *sūtra*, to be learned, repeated, understood and fully explained to others, in order to produce an immense stock of merit, it runs as follows

"Stars, darkness, a lamp,
A phantom, dew, a bubble,
A dream, a flash of lightning, and a cloud,
Thus we should look upon all that was made".¹

In Kumārajīva's Chinese translation this *gāthā*, representing the essence of the *sūtra*, runs as follows:

一切有爲法，如夢幻泡影，如露亦如電，應
作如是觀。 The "sons or daughters of good families" are, as always in Chinese translations, designated by 善男子善女人, "virtuous men and women".

Although there are six Chinese versions of this famous text (enumerated above, Ch I, § 9, p 17), made by celebrated Indian or Chinese priests, such as Bodhiruci I (A.D. 509), Paramārtha (562), Dharmagupta (605), Hsien-tsang (648) and I-tsing (703), yet Kumārajīva's translation (A.D. 402) retained its fame and was used in China for ages. In A.D. 1411 an Emperor of the Ming dynasty, Ch'eng Tsu, even wrote a preface thereto, which is clear

¹ *Sacred books of the East*, Vol. XLIX, pp. 111—144

evidence of the fact that it was still preferred to all other versions

We saw above (Ch. I, § 9, p. 17), that in the sixth century A.D. the founder of the *T'ien-t'ai* school in China explained this *sūtra* orally, and that his disciple Kwan-ting recorded his words in No. 1550.

Two other great schools, the *Avatamsaka* (*Hwa-yen*, *Kegon*) (9th and 11th centuries), and the *Dhyāna* (*Shen*, *Zen*) (14th century) sects, wrote commentaries upon it and their priests have venerated and used it from ancient times down to the present day. It was printed in many editions, and treated as a separate work, although it was also the ninth *sūtra* of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā* (the *Dai-hannyakyō*, Nanjō No. 1). Even in Sanskrit it was printed, in *Lanja* writing, as used in Tibet.¹ Doubtless it was one of the most renowned Buddhist texts in Central Asia² and China;³ with regard to Japan we shall see that its ceremonial splendour declined in the tenth century and ended in the eleventh.

§ 2. *The Kongō-hannyakyō in Japan during the seventh and eighth centuries.*

As seen above (Ch. I, § 9), in A.D. 685 (10th month), this *sūtra* was expounded in the Palace, evidently in order to cure the Emperor Temmu, who died the following year (IX 9). Other *sūtras* used for this purpose were the *Yakushikyō* (686, V 24), the *Konkwōmyōkyō* (686, VIII 8) and the *Kwannongyō* (686, VII 28, VII 2); vegetarian entertainments of monks, penitential services (*kekwa*), offerings, dedication of a hundred Kwannon images,

¹ Max Muller, *Buddhist texts from Japan, Anecdota Oxoniensia*, Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, III, p. 301.

² Eliot, *l.c.* III, p. 191

³ Cf. above Ch. VIII, § 13, p. 292: a penitential service at the Court of the Liang Emperor Wu T'i (502—549), based upon this text. Cf. Carter, *Invention of printing in China*, Ch. VIII, pp. 39 sqq.

general amnesty, everything was done in vain to save the Emperor's life ¹

In A.D. 727 (Jinki 4, II 18) Shōmu Tennō invited 600 monks and 300 nuns to the Palace and ordered them to perform *tendoku* of the *Kongō-hannyakyō*, in order to dispel calamities. ²

In A.D. 735 (Temyō 7, VIII 12) the same Emperor caused the monks of the great temples of *Dazaifu* (Tsukushi) and of all the temples of the other provinces to read this *sūtra* against the pestilence which was killing so many inhabitants of that region. At the same time *gohei* were offered to local *Shintō* gods ³

In A.D. 758 (Temyō hōji 2, VII 28) the Empress Kōken had 30 copies of this *sūtra* made in every province "for the Repose of the Court and Great Peace of the Realm". Twenty of these copies (chapters, but the text consists of only 14 leaves) had to be deposited in the *Kokubun sōji*, and ten in the *Kokubun niji* (the provincial state monasteries and nunneries, instituted in A.D. 741), where thenceforth this *sūtra* had to be read by means of the *tendoku* system in addition to the *Konkwō-myō Saishōkyō*, the principal text of those sanctuaries ⁴

In A.D. 797 (Enryaku 16, V 19) the Emperor Kwammu ordered *tendoku* of this *sūtra* in the Palace and in that of the Heir Apparent, in order to avert the evil consequences of strange events (pheasants had assembled on one of the principal buildings of the Palace). ⁵

In A.D. 806 (Enryaku 25, III 17), on the very day of Kwammu Tennō's death, the *Kongō-hannyakyō* was selected as the last means of saving his life, for the monks of all the *kokubunji* of the country were ordered to read it twice a year, during seven special days of the second and eighth months,

¹ *Nihongi*, Ch. xxix, pp. 538 sqq., Aston II, pp. 371 sqq.

² *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. x, p. 160

³ *Ibid.*, Ch. XII, p. 199

⁴ *Ibid.*, Ch. xx, p. 347.

⁵ *Nihon kiryaku*, *Zempen*, Ch. xiii, p. 378

in order to appease Sudō Tennō's angry soul (cf. above, Ch XI, § 7 F, pp. 467 sqq ; origin of the *Higan* festival, Ch VIII, § 18, pp. 371 sq).¹

From these facts we learn that the *Kongō-hannyakyō* was used to dispel calamities, pestilence, the influence of evil omens and angry spirits, and to promote the repose and peace of the Imperial Court and the whole country. In cases of illness, either of the Emperor or other persons, like the eye-disease of the *Hossō* priest Chōgi of Yakushiji, who in A.D. 772 was cured by means of this *sūtra*, read by the other monks for three days and nights,² it was believed to possess great protective power. In A.D. 797 another *Hossō* priest, Zenshu (善珠) of Akishino-dera, was summoned to the Palace, where he cured the Emperor Kwammu's son by expounding the *Hannyakyō*, i. e. the *Kongō-hannyakyō*; he was rewarded by being promoted to the rank of *Sōjō*.³

§ 3. *Splendour of the Kongō-hannyakyō in Japan during the ninth century and its decline in the tenth.*

Among the 230 *sūtras* and abhidharmas presented to the Emperor Kwammu in A.D. 805 (VIII 27) by Saichō (最澄) (Dengyō Daishi, 傳教大師, A.D. 767—822), the founder of the *Tendai* sect, after his return from China, were four celebrated *sūtras* written with golden characters, namely the *Hokkekyō* (the Lotus *sūtra*) (Nanjō No. 134), the *Kongō-hannyakyō* (Nanjō No. 10), the *Bosatsu kaikyō* (*Bosatsu-kaihongyō*, Nanjō No. 1096), and the *Kwan-Muryōjukyō* (the *Sūtra* on the Meditation on Amitāyus, Nanjō No. 198)⁴

Another great *Tendai* priest, Enchin (圓珍) (Chishō Daishi,

¹ *Nihon kōki*, Ch. XIII, p. 62.

² Washio, p. 818, 1, s.v. *Chōgi*.

³ Washio, p. 709, 1, s.v. *Zenshu*.

⁴ Washio, p. 399, 2, s.v. *Saichō*.

智證大師, A.D. 814—891) wrote commentaries on the *Dai-hannyakyō*, the *Hannyashinkyō* (Nanjō No. 20) and the *Kongō-hannyakyō*.¹ As seen above, in China the founder of the *T'ien-t'ai* school had explained the *Kongō-hannyakyō* orally, and his disciple Kwan-ting (A.D. 561—632) wrote his explanations in Nanjō No. 1550. No wonder therefore that the *Tendai* sect became the propagator of this text as well as of the *Daihannyakyō* in Japan, where the *Hossō* sect had used it in the eighth century. Yet, as we learn from the biography of Ichū-en (壹演), a *Shūngon* priest who lived A.D. 803—867,² the *Shūngon* priests too were sometimes devout “keepers” of this *sūtra*.

Although the *Daihannyakyō* was the predominant *sūtra* of the age, from A.D. 830 we see the *Kongō-hannyakyō* gradually rising in the Buddhist ceremonial circles of the whole country. Against pestilence especially its power was believed to be great, but it was also often read in order to expel other lurking demons from the capital and country, as for instance when the crops did not grow, or when a comet, an eclipse of the sun, an earthquake alarmed men as evil omens of great calamities, or drought ominously threatened the dread approach of famine and disease. The *Daihannyakyō*, however, being the most important text, used to be recited in the Palace for protection of the Court and country, whereas the *Kongō-hannyakyō* was nearly always read in the temples (Buddhist and Shintō) of the Home and other provinces. It is remarkable that the *tendoku* system was usually applied even to this short text.

In A.D. 830 (IV 26—28), when a serious plague raged in several provinces, slaying a large number of victims, Buddhist priests of great zeal were ordered to perform *tendoku* of this *sūtra* for three days in all the *kokubunji* of the *gokinai* and other provinces; shortly afterwards (V 6—12) a hundred monks were invited to the *Daigokuden*, where for seven days they practised *tendoku* of

¹ Washio, p. 98 sq., s v. *Enchin*

² Washio, p. 16, 2 s v. *Ichū-en*

the *Daihannyakyō* against earthquakes and pestilence. The same year (intercalary XII, 24) strange apparitions, particularly dangerous towards the close of the year, caused the Emperor Junna to request five priests to read the *Kongō-hannyakyō* and to order the *Jingikwan* to expel the evil influences.¹ In A.D. 832 (V 18) both *sūtras* (*Dai-* and *Kongō-hannya*) were read in all provinces to cause rain.²

During Nimmmyō Tennō's reign (A.D. 833—850) this *sūtra* was used repeatedly in combination with the Ceremony of Repentance in worship of *Bhaisajyaguru* (*Yakushi kekwa*, cf. above, Ch. VIII, § 14), in order to remove the pestilence prevailing, and to cause a good harvest. This system was commenced in A.D. 833 (VI 8), when the new Emperor, who was a devout believer in the blessing power of the *Prajñāpāramitā*, ordered *tendoku* of the *Kongō-hannyakyō* in the daytime and *Yakushi-kekwa* at night, to be practised during three days in all provinces by Buddhist priests of great experience in religious rites. Each of them (20 in the largest and 17, 14 and 10 in the other provinces) received *fuse* (a donation) of three bushels of cereals from the regular taxes and ten bushels were offered to the *Triratna*. In this way the Emperor, whose health had just been restored by means of *kaji* (incantations), offerings to seven Buddhist temples and *tendoku* of *sūtras*, endeavoured to save the country from the severe plague.³ The following year (A.D. 834, IV 6) the same ceremonies took place for the same reason, once more during three days, in all *kokubun-sōji*, and *kandan sesshō* (prohibition of the killing of living beings) was, as usual, considered a necessary measure accompanying the rites. Twenty days later (IV 26) in all Buddhist temples of the capital "on behalf of the (Shintō) gods of Heaven and Earth" one copy of the *Daihannyakyō* and 100000 chapters (in this case full copies) of the *Kongō-hannyakyō* were read by means of the *tendoku* system, "in order to drive off the cala-

¹ *Nihon kiryaku*, Ch. xiv, pp. 462, 464

² L I, p. 468

³ *Shoku Nihon kōki*, Ch. II, p. 180.

mitous vapours" (of pestilence).¹ In A.D. 837 (IV 25) the *Dai-hannyakyō* was combined with the nightly *Yakushi hōgō* ("precious name") against the calamities of heaven and earth (tendoku in all Buddhist temples, 3 days in each of the three decades of every month);² in the same year (VI 21) the *Kongō-hannyakyō* was read in the *kokubunji*, with nightly *Yakushi-kekwa* and *kundan sesshō* (against pestilence).³ Shortly afterwards (VIII 3) 15 priests performed the same ceremonies in the *Jōneiden*, on account of strange apparitions in the Palace.⁴ Other *sūtras* used in those days were the *Hannya-shinkyō* (Nanjō No. 20), the *Yakushikyō* (No. 171), the *Saishōkyō* (No. 126), the *Yumakyō* (No. 146), the *Kairyūkyō* (*Sāgara Nāgarāja Sūtra*, No. 456, on behalf of the ambassadors to China), the *Ninnōkyō* (No. 17), the *Hokkekyō* (No. 134) and the *Kongō-jumyō-darani-kyō* (No. 960, the *Jumyōkyō*, translated A.D. 723—730 by Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra; a *Shūgon* text used when the Emperor was ill). The principal rites were the *Saishōe*, *Yumae*, *Butsumyō-sange*; also the *Monju-e* (in worship of *Mañjuśrī*), the *Monju-hachiyū-hō*, the *Emmeihō* ("to lengthen life") and the *Sokusaihō* (息災法, "to arrest calamity", against evil omens) are mentioned in the annals of that time, an important period in ceremonial life. As to the *Kongō-hannyakyō*, this was also used in A.D. 839 (V 11—13), 840 (VI 14—20), 841 (IV 2), 842 (III 15) against pestilence and to obtain a good harvest.⁵ In A.D. 847 (XI 21), when a comet had appeared, fifty priests were invited to the *Seiryōden* of the Palace, where they performed *tendoku* of this *sūtra* in the daytime, and at night *Jūichūmen* (*Kwannon*) *hō* (rites in worship of the Eleven-faced Avalokiteśvara, belonging to the mystic school).

¹ Ibid, Ch. III, p. 193

² Ibid, Ch. VI, p. 235.

³ *Nihon Kiryaku*, *Zempen*, Ch. xv, p. 492.

⁴ *Shoku Nihon kōki*, Ch. VI, p. 237

⁵ *Shoku Nihon kōki*, Ch. VIII, p. 258; Ch. IX, p. 279, Ch. X, p. 294, Ch. XI, p. 309

This lasted three days, and at the same time the *Sokusaihō* (another *Shingon* ceremony) was practised by 14 priests in the *Shingon-in* of the Palace.¹

In Montoku Tennō's time (A.D. 850—858) the *Kongō-hannyakyō* was used in A.D. 852 (XII 26) (in all provinces against pestilence), and in A.D. 857 (V 3 and 8), when 150 priests performed *tendoku* of this text for three days in the great *Shintō* shrines of *Kamo* and *Matsu-no-o*, and 104 priests celebrated the same ceremony in the *Daigokuden*, because evidently an eclipse of the sun had aroused great dread of all kinds of calamity.²

Under Seiwa Tennō (A.D. 858—876) the years A.D. 865 and 866 were calamitous on account of plague and drought, against which the *Daihannyakyō*, the *Hannya-shinkyō*, the *Ninnō-hannyakyō*, the *Kongō-hannyakyō* and the *Kujakuō-kyō* (the Peacock *sūtra*, Nanjō No. 311) were used (the *Ninnōkyō* was read in 866, IV 26 on account of the fact that the *Ōtenmon* of the Palace had been destroyed by fire). As stated above, the *Daihannyakyō* was read in the Palace (*Daigokuden*, *Shushinden*, *Naiden*, *Nanden*) and sometimes in the great Buddhist sanctuaries; also the *Hannya-shinkyō* was sometimes recited in the Palace (as in A.D. 865, IV 5 and V 13), but the *Kongō-hannyakyō* (repeatedly mentioned together with the two other *Prajñā-pāramitā-sūtras*, and in 867 (XI 29) also with the *Ninnō-hannyakyō*, the third text of this kind) was nearly always limited to the temples, *Shintō* as well as Buddhist, of the *gokinai* and other provinces. Only in A.D. 847 (XI 21) *tendoku* of this *sūtra* took place in the *Seiryōden*, as stated above, and in 865 (VII 12) it was read at the *Kenreimon*, one of the Palace gates, in order to ward off the prevailing pestilence from the Emperor's residence;³ and in A.D. 878 (II 24) during three days ten priests performed *tendoku* of it in the

¹ Ibid., Ch. xvii, p. 388.

² *Montoku, Tennō jitsuroku*, Ch. iv, p. 495, Ch. ix, p. 553

³ *Nihon sandai jitsuroku*, Ch. xi—xiv, pp. 168—262

Hosshō-in, while fifty others read the *Daihannyakyō* in the *Shishūnden*.¹

In A.D. 868 (IV 16) a thousand chapters of the *Kongō-hannyakyō* were read by twenty Buddhist priests in the *Shintō* shrine of Keta in Noto province, because the Emperor was ill, and messengers were sent to ten Buddhist sanctuaries, in order to pray and perform meritorious works.²

In A.D. 869 (III 3) *gohei* were sent to the local *Shintō* gods of all provinces, and *tendoku* of the *Kongō-hannyakyō* and the *Daihannyakyō* was ordered for three days, during which no killing of living beings was allowed. These measures were taken against the pestilence, predicted for that summer by the *Onyōryō*. The same year (XII 25) *tendoku* of the *Kongō-hannyakyō* took place in all provinces during three days, "in order to avert disastrous earthquakes, storms and inundations, and to suppress spying enemies from a neighbouring country (the Shiragi pirates)".

In A.D. 871 (VI 13) the provinces of the Tōsandō, Hokuokudō, Sanindō, Sanyōdō and Nankaidō were ordered to offer *gohei* to the local *Shintō* gods of famous mountains and large marshes, and to perform *tendoku* of the *Daihannyakyō* and the *Kongō-hannyakyō*, "in order to pray for sweet rain"³

In A.D. 872 (III 23) on account of many strange apparitions, considered to be evil omens, messengers with *gohei* were sent to all *Shintō* temples, and in each of these shrines *tendoku* of the *Kongō-hannyakyō* was performed.⁴ Thus we see that the *Shintō* gods were often connected with this *sūtrā*, and that their blessing power was believed to be strengthened by the recital of this text. With regard to evil omens, when in the same year (A.D. 872, V 30) in a separate chapel of the *Kokubunji* of Suruga province a big snake had devoured 31 chapters of the *Hannya-shinkyō* (the

¹ Ibid., Ch. xxxiii, p. 481

² Ibid., Ch. xv, p. 271.

³ Ibid., Ch. xvi, pp. 284, 298

⁴ Ibid., Ch. xxi, p. 352

Prajñā-pāramitā-hṛdaya-sūtra, Nanjō No 20), the diviners of the *Jungikwan* declared this to be an omen of fire and pestilence, which had to be averted by the governor of that province (VII 29) ¹

In A.D. 875 (XII 13) drought, pestilence, war and fire were expelled by means of *tendoku* of the *Kongō-hannyakyō*, practised by Imperial order by seven priests for three days in all *kokubun-sōji* and *niji* (provincial monasteries and nunneries) and in all *jōgakuji* (officially established Buddhist shrines), and *gohei* were sent to the famous Shintō gods of all provinces. The *sūtra* was read in the daytime, and at night the holy names of *Yakushi* and *Kwannon* were invoked. ²

At the rain ceremonies of this and the following years (875, VI 15; 877, VI 26, VII 7; 878 IV 29; 880 VI 26) the Peacock and the Great Cloud *sūtras* as well as that of the Benevolent Kings (*Ninnōkyō*) and the *Mahaprajñā-pāramitā sūtra* (*Daihan-nyakyō*) were read, but the *Kongō-hannyakyō* was not mentioned. ³ As a matter of fact it was used more in times of pestilence than of drought.

In A.D. 884 (II 13), when the Emperor Kwōkō ascended the throne, 25 monks of *Saidaiji*, led by a dignified priest, on behalf of His Majesty performed *tendoku* of 50 *kwan* of the *Kongō-hannyakyō* and repeated the *Emmei shingon* ("magic formula for lengthening life", in worship of Samantabhadra or Vajrasattva) ten thousand times. ⁴

In A.D. 885 (X 19), when the *Jungikwan* predicted pestilence on account of an evil omen, the Emperor endeavoured to avert this calamity by inviting 20 priests to the *Jyuden*, where they had to practise *tendoku* of the same *sūtra*. ⁵ The following year,

¹ Ibid, Ch. xxi, p. 357, Ch. xxii, p. 358.

² Ibid, Ch. xxvii, p. 420.

³ Ibid, Ch. xxvii, p. 414, Ch. xxxi, pp. 465 sq, Ch. xxxiii, p. 487; Ch. xxxvii, p. 543.

⁴ Ibid, Ch. xlv, p. 623.

⁵ Ibid, Ch. xlviii, p. 671.

however, when the Emperor was ill (he died in A.D. 887, VIII 26), the famous *Tendai* priest Enchin (Chishō Daishi) (814—891) celebrated the *Goma* (*homa*) rites for five days in the *Shishinden*, but the *Kongō-hannyakyo* was not used.¹ This was the time when the ever growing influence of the *Tendai* sect caused the *Hokkekyō* (the Lotus *sūtra*) to begin its splendid task among the ceremonial texts of Japan. In A.D. 888 (IX 27) it was read on behalf of the deceased Emperor's soul, and in 889 (IX 24) the *Hokke hakkō* (probably then mentioned for the first time) took place in *Kajōji*.² For many years we do not hear the name of the *Kongō-hannyakyo*, but in A.D. 898 (III 28) a thousand *kwan* of it were read by means of the *tendoku* system, for three days, in the 15 great buddhist temples, against the prevailing plague.³

In the tenth century this *sūtra* is seldom mentioned. In A.D. 930 (VIII 25) the Udaijin Fujiwara no Sadakata had a hundred *kwan* of it read on *Tendaisan* (*Hieiizan*), in order to restore the Emperor Daigo's health.⁴ In A.D. 949 (III 30), when *sagi* (snowy herons) had assembled upon the roof of a Palace building, this evil omen was averted by reading this text in the *Kwantōchō* ("Official Eastern Government Department"),⁵ and in the same year (VII 25) thirty priests recited it by means of *tendoku* in the *Benkwanchō*, another Government Office, once more in order to remove the evil influence of strange apparitions.⁶

In A.D. 975 (XII 21), when a library was destroyed by fire at night, the cause of the disaster being unknown, this evil omen was averted by *tendoku* of the *Kongō-hannyakyo*.⁷

This is the last time we found this text mentioned in the Annals. Even in A.D. 1276 and 1281, when the Mongols attacked

¹ Ibid, Ch. XLIX, p 699.

² *Nihon kiryaku*, *Zempen*, Ch xx, p 752

³ Ibid, *Kōhen*, Ch I, p 774.

⁴ Ibid, *Kōhen*, Ch. I, p. 812

⁵ Ibid., Ch. III, p 859.

⁶ Ibid, Ch. III, p. 862.

⁷ Ibid, Ch. VI, p. 951.

Japan, its blessing power was not used, and in the course of time the *Ninnōkyō*, *Hokkekyō*, *Daihannyakyō*, *Jumyōkyō*, *Saishōōkyō*, *Yuimakyō*, *Kwannongyō*, *Kujakuōkyō* (the Peacock *sūtra*), and *Shōukyō* (the Great Cloud *sūtra*) were recited in its stead.

Thus its ceremonial influence soon came to an end, but it remained of course in the hands of thousands of priests, especially of the *Tendai* sect, and at the end of the eighteenth century we read that the *Tendai* priest Jishū (who died in A.D. 1801), was a faithful reader, not only of the *Daihannyakyō*, which he perused 36 times, but also of the *Kongō-hannyakyō*, which he read no less than fifty thousand times! ¹

¹ Washio, p. 426, s.v. *Jishū*.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE YAKUSHIKYŌ (BHAISHAJYAGURU-SŪTRA) AND THE SHICHI-BUTSU-YAKUSHIKYŌ (THE SŪTRA OF THE SEVEN HEALING BUDDHAS).

§ 1 *Contents of the Yakushikyō (Nanjō No. 171).*

The translations given by Poh Śrīmitra, Dharmagupta and Huen-tsang (Nos 167 (12), 170 and 171, A.D 317—322, 615 and 650, cf. above, Book I, Ch. I, § 10, p 19, where we dealt with the different translations and commentaries) are of the same length (three pages of the Kyōto edition printed with movable types) ¹ Evidently they are all versions of the same text, and if we follow Huen-tsang's translation we obtain practically the contents of all three. The title of this version, which was always used in Japan except at the Ceremony of the Seven Healing Buddhas (when I-tsing's text was used) is as follows: *Yakushi Rurikwō Nyorai hongwan kudoku kyō*, 藥師瑠璃光如來本願功德經, "Sūtra on the original vows and meritorious deeds of the Medicine-Master, the Tathāgata Vaidūrya-light".

At Mañjuśrī's request the Buddha explained to a large crowd of Bodhisattvas, great Śrāvakas, kings, ministers, brahmans and merchants, devas, nāgas, asuras, gandharvas etc., how far in the East, beyond numberless ("ten Gaṅgā sands") Buddha lands, there is a world called "Pure Vaidūrya" (lapis lazuli) (*Jōruri*, 淨瑠璃), ruled by a Buddha whose name is "The Medicine

¹ IX, 9, pp. 869—872, 895—898, 898—901.

Master, Vaidūrya-light Tathāgata" (*Yakushi Rurikwō Nyorai*, 藥師瑠璃光如來, *Bhaisajyaguru Vaidūryaprabhāsa Tathāgata*), a Buddha perfect and unsurpassed in wisdom.

When walking the Bodhisattva road, this Buddha had originally made 12 great vows with regard to the resplendent body and the blessing power, to be obtained by him on having reached Buddhahip.

1 A bright and beautiful body, illuminating the numberless worlds by its brilliant light and causing all living beings to obtain bodies resplendent like his own.

2. A body like *vaidūrya*, inside and outside pure, without any stain, emitting a light brighter than that of sun and moon, and illuminating the darkness for the living beings of the world, so that they may walk and work at their will.

3. Causing, by means of the *upāyas* of immeasurable, unlimited wisdom, all sentient beings to obtain an inexhaustible abundance of things they use and to want for nothing.

4. Causing all heterodox sentient beings to find rest in the road of *bodhi*, and all *Śrāvakas* and *Pratyekabuddhas* (adherents of the *Hīnayāna* doctrine, the Old Buddhists, and the solitary contemplative philosophers) ¹ to find peace in *Mahāyāna*

5 Giving perfect purity of life to numberless sentient beings and causing those who have trespassed against the commandments on hearing his name to return to purity, so that they do not fall upon the evil roads.

6. Curing all those whose bodies are weak and whose organs (also the minds) are in a bad condition, and to cause them to gain wisdom and health by hearing his name.

7. Causing all sentient beings who are ill and helpless to obtain recovery, peace and joy of body and mind, and wealth, and to obtain the unexcelled *bodhi*, by hearing his name.

8. Causing suffering women, who desire to cast their female

¹ Cf Kern, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 61.

bodies away, to become men and to gain insight into *bodhi* by hearing his name.

9 Liberating all sentient beings from heterodoxy and evil ideas and giving them correct views, causing them finally to practise the Bodhisattva actions and to testify speedily to the unsurpassed Bodhi.

10. Causing those who are in prison or are about to undergo capital punishment or other sufferings, imposed upon them by the law of a king, to be freed from all their misery by his power, felicitous, blessing, majestic, divine.

11. Causing all sentient beings who are suffering from hunger and thirst to obtain excellent drink and food, rest, joy and health.

12. Giving those who are poor and have no raiment plenty of beautiful garments and precious ornaments.

In this Buddha's pure, beautiful land without women, evil paths and sounds of suffering, there are two Bodhisattvas, Sunlight and Moonlight (日光, 月光, *Nikkō* and *Gwakkō*, *Sūrya-prabha* and *Candraprabha*, his two attendant Bodhisattvas), leaders of an innumerable crowd of other Bodhisattvas, and guardians of this Buddha's Correct Law

Pretas, animals and beings in hell shall be reborn as virtuous men, once they have heard this Buddha's name; and if wicked people, who worship the demons of mountains and woods, make offerings to Yakshas and Rākshasas, write the names of those they hate and make their images in order to commit evil sorcery and to kill them, if those people hear this Buddha's name, all those evil actions become harmless, their hearts become benevolent and without hatred, they all enjoy what they themselves receive, and without attacking others they give one another mutual assistance.

If virtuous people who have kept the eight (commandments and) fasts or have received and kept the rules of the doctrine for one year or three months, in order to be reborn in Amī-tā-bha's Paradise, hear the name of the Buddha Bhaishajyaguru,

at the time of their death eight Bodhisattvas shall come (through the air), borne by their divine miraculous power, and show them the way thither, where they shall be reborn by transformation, spontaneously, amidst lotus flowers of various colours. And if they are reborn in a heaven, they shall not be exposed to rebirth on one of the three evil roads, but be reborn as a *cakravartin rāja* or as a Brahman or a rich merchant. And women who hear his name and keep it in mind shall never again have a female body.

Then Mañjuśrī promised to spread this doctrine in later times among virtuous men and women by means of all kinds of *upāyas*, and to cause Bhaishajyaguru's name to penetrate into their ears "If they receive, keep and read this *sūtra*, or explain it on behalf of others, or copy it themselves, or teach others to do so, or if they respectfully make offerings to it of all kinds of flowers, incense, garlands, flags, canopies and musical instruments, put it in a bag of variegated silk and place it on a high throne in a pure place, the Four Deva Kings with their followers and numberless other Devas shall all come thither to protect them. Where this *sūtra* shall be spread and that Buddha's vows and blessing power and name heard, there shall be no more any cases of untimely death nor shall evil demons seize the vital spirits of the worshippers, and if they have seized them they shall be restored to their former bodily and mental peace and joy.

The Buddha said: "So it is, so it is, Mañjuśrī; it is as you have explained. If pure, devout and virtuous men and women wish to make offerings to that Buddha, they ought first to make and erect his image and place it upon a pure throne and scatter all kinds of flowers, burn all kinds of incense, and adorn that place with all kinds of flags. For seven days and seven nights they must keep the eight commandments and fasts, eating pure food and purifying themselves by bathing and perfumes, and putting on new and pure garments. Their hearts must be free from any impurity or anger, and towards all sentient

beings they must be full of blessing, full of peace and joy and mercy, compassionate, ready to sacrifice themselves, and composed of mind. They must beat drums and make music and sing in praise of that Buddha, and make *pradakṣiṇa* circumambulations around his image, turning towards his right side (i.e. to the left, with their right side turned to the Buddha). Further, they must think of that Buddha's original vows and meritorious deeds, and reading this *sūtra* they must reflect upon its meaning and broadly explain it. Then all their wishes shall be fulfilled: long life, felicity, independence, sons or daughters, no bad dreams or visions, no strange birds assembling in their dwellings, or other apparitions (of evil foreboding), no fear of water, swords, poison, precipices, wild animals, poisonous snakes and other reptiles, invasions from other countries, robbery and riots. Those who make offerings to that Buddha and worship him shall be free from all those fears. Those who have trespassed against their commandments and fear lest they fall upon the evil roads, shall not receive that punishment if they make offerings to that Buddha; and women in labour shall be quickly freed from their pain and give birth to good and healthy children, if they invoke that Buddha and make offerings unto him".

On the Buddha's questioning Ānanda as to whether he believed in the blessing virtue of that Buddha, Ānanda answered that he believed the Tathāgata's words and had no longer any doubt, whereupon the Buddha again extolled the great blessing power of Bhaiṣajyaguru and his great vows.

Then a Bodhisattva Mahāsattva, called "The Saviour" (救脱, *Kudatsu*)¹ arose from his seat and with his right knee on the ground and joining his palms he said to the Buddha: "When in future times people are very ill and die and come before King Yama, they shall still return to life, awakening like as from a

¹ Cf. *Dayūten*, Fig. 21 (an image of this Bodhisattva, a national treasure of Shūjōji, 秋條寺, in Yamato province).

dream; regaining consciousness after 7, 21, 35 or 49 days, they shall remember the retributions of their good and evil deeds and be virtuous unto their death, if during their illness their relatives on their behalf take refuge in the Buddha Bhaishajyaguru, and request the monks to perform *tendoku* (partial reading) of this *sūtra*, to light seven rows of lamps and to hang up five-coloured sacred flags to prolong life. Therefore all virtuous men and women must make offerings to that Buddha".

Then Ānanda asked the Bodhisattva which offerings these should be, whereupon the latter answered that on behalf of those who were seriously ill and wished to recover, their relatives must keep the eight commandments and fasts for seven days and seven nights and offer drink and food and all kinds of utensils to the monks, according to their competence. "Six times, (thrice) in the daytime and (thrice) at night, they must worship that Buddha and make offerings to him. They must read this *sūtra* 49 (7×7) times and light 49 (7×7) lamps and make seven images of him; and before each of those images they must place seven lamps, as large as the wheel of a wagon, which must burn incessantly for 49 days; they must also make banners of five-coloured silk, 49 feet long, and set free living beings of divers kinds, unto the number of 49" Then they may escape from danger, untimely death and evil demons. As to kshatriyas and baptized kings, in times of calamity, sickness of the people, attacks from other countries, riots, strange phenomena with regard to the stars, eclipses of the sun or moon, bad weather, storms and drought, they must be benevolent and compassionate towards all living beings and grant amnesty to all prisoners and by means of the afore-said offering ceremony make offerings to the Buddha Bhaishajyaguru. Then in consequence of these roots of virtue and on account of the

power of the original vows of that Buddha, the countries of those kings shall forthwith obtain rest, seasonable weather, and good harvests, and all living beings of those countries shall have health and peace and joy, nor shall they be distressed by yakshas and other evil demons (rākshasas, piśācas, i. e. vampires, etc.), or by evil apparitions. Those kshatriyas and baptized kings shall have a long life, bodily strength and health, independence and increasing wealth. If Emperors, Empresses, Princes, officials or ordinary people are ill, they shall be cured and all other calamities shall be removed by erecting five-coloured sacred flags, lighting lamps and keeping them burning continually, setting living beings free, scattering flowers of various colours, and burning every kind of incense”.

Then at Ānanda's request the Bodhisattva “The Saviour” explained the nine kinds of untimely death (九横死), in which cases life is exhausted and yet may be again prolonged. This is the case when patients die through lack of medicine and nursing or when the physicians give them wrong medicines, when they are put to death, punished in accordance with the law of a king; when through hunting, amusements, lewdness, drunkenness, dissipation and immoderation their vital spirits have been seized by the kinnaras (evil demons); when they die through fire; when they are drowned; when they are killed by wild animals, when they fall from a precipice; when they are injured by poisonous herbs, spells or *krityas* (“demons raising corpses”), and when they die of hunger and thirst. These are the nine kinds of untimely death, (formerly) explained in brief by the Buddha, but there are also innumerable other kinds.

Among the crowd were twelve Great Generals of the Yakshas, called Kumbhira, Vajra, Mihira, Andīra, Anīla, Śāṇḍila, Indra, Vajra (?), Mahoraga, Kinnara, Catura and Vikarāla (cf. below), each of whom had 7000 Yakshas as his followers. They all addressed the Buddha in chorus, saying: “Now thanks to the Buddha's majestic power we have heard the name of the Buddha

Bhaishajyaguru, the Tathāgata Vaidūrya light, and we no longer fear the wicked roads. Now until the end of our life we all unanimously take refuge in the Buddha, the Dharma and the Saṅgha. We shall carry on our back (i. e. we shall assist and protect) all living beings and cause righteousness and prosperity, abundance, peace and joy everywhere, in villages and towns and in the lonely woods. Those who propagate this *sūtra*, receive and keep in mind the name of that Buddha, revere him and make offerings to him, shall be protected by us and our followers and be saved from all sufferings, and all their wishes shall be fulfilled. And also those who are seriously ill and wish to be saved, must read this *sūtra*, and braid our names with five-coloured threads, unloosening them after the fulfilment of their wish.

Then the Buddha praised the Great Generals of the Yakshas and said that, thinking how to retribute the favours and blessing power of the Healing Buddha, they must thus give blessings, peace and joy to all sentient beings

When Ānanda asked him about the name of this *sūtra*, the Buddha said: "Ānanda, this doctrine (gate of the Law) is called 'The original vows and virtuous actions of the Buddha Bhaishajyaguru Vaidūrya-light explained', and 'The sacred incantations for the fulfilment of the vows, made by the twelve holy Generals to give abundance to all sentient beings, explained', and 'All obstacles of deeds (consisting in actions) removed'. Thus must you keep it in mind".

After these words of the Bhagavat all the Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas, Great Śrāvakas, kings and ministers, Brahmans and merchants, and the whole of the big crowd of Devas and Nāgas, Yakshas, Gandharvas etc., having heard the Buddha's explanations were greatly rejoiced, received them faithfully and respectfully, and went away

§ 2. Contents of the *Shichibutsu-Yakushikyō* (Nanjō No. 172).

I-tsing's translation, entitled *Yakushi Rurikwō Shichi-Butsu hongwan kudoku kyō* (Nanjō No. 172, A.D. 707), is much larger (pp. 901—908). It is divided into two fasciculi, the first of which deals with the vows (8, 8, 6, 4, 4, 4, 12) of the Seven Healing Buddhas, *Yakushi Shichibutsu*, 藥師七佛, their names, and those of their paradises, all lying in the East, far away, beyond 4—10 myriads (grains of Gaṅgā river sand) of other Buddha lands. The last of the seven is *Yakushi Rurikwō Nyorai*, the "Medicine Master Vaidūrya-light" with his twelve vows. The series opens with the eight great vows to cure, relieve and save all living beings, uttered at the beginning of his Bodhisattva career by the Buddha "Virtuous Name, King of Felicity (善稱名吉祥王如來, *Zenshōmyō Kichijō-ō Nyorai*), whose beautiful Eastern Paradise is named "Excelling in Light" (光勝, *Kwōshō*). Thereupon the Buddha explains the eight great vows of another Buddha, residing still further away in the East, in a Buddha land called "Wonderful Treasure" (*Myōhō*, 妙寶). The name of that Buddha is "Precious Moon, Majesty of Wisdom, Sound of Light, Independent King" (寶月智嚴光音自在王如來, *Hōgwatsu Chigon Kwō-on Jizai-ō Nyorai*); those who hear his name shall be protected and saved in various circumstances and ways.

So it goes on, the first fasciculus (or chapter) being entirely devoted to those Buddhas and their vows. The *Bukkyō daijiten* (pp. 740 sq.), where their names and those of their lands are enumerated with the numbers of other Buddha lands beyond which they are situated in the East, gives also another list of names of seven worlds and Buddhas, the two last of which are not in the East but in the South. Those names are found in Nanjō No. 528, a very short *sūtra*, where the Buddha explains to Śāriputra their names and blessing power (6 leaves, translated by Huen-tsang in A.D. 651).

The so-called *Shichibutsu-Yakushi* or *Yakushi-Shichibutsu*, the "Seven Healing Buddhas", are those found in the text translated by I-tsing (Nanjō No. 172). Although the *sūtra* treats them as seven different Buddhas, the fact that they were worshipped together and called by the name of the last of them (the only Buddha spoken of in the older text of Poh Śrīmitra, Dharmagupta and Huen-tsang) indicates that the worshippers considered them to be seven manifestations of the same Healing Buddha. Evidently I-tsing translated a text of later date, for the other translators, especially Huen-tsang, would not have omitted the other six Buddhas if they had found them treated in their text. Moreover, there are several magic formulae in I-tsing's text, explained by the Buddha for the sake of all living beings (pp. 903*a*, 905*b*, 907*b*, 908*a*); these are lacking in the older text, although one of the names, given by the Buddha to the *sūtra* at the end of that text, speaks of "sacred incantations" with regard to the vow of the Twelve Yaksha Generals (in the translations of Poh Śrīmitra and Huen-tsang, not in that of Dharmagupta). This seems to point to magic formulae, omitted by the translators. Otherwise the second fasciculus of I-tsing's text gives the same details about the two attendant Bodhisattvas Sūrya and Candra, the eight Bodhisattvas "borne by their divine transcendental power", who show the way to Amitāyus' Paradise to those who have heard Bhaishajyaguru's name, and the vow of the Twelve Yaksha Generals. Worship is prescribed, however, not to Bhaishajyaguru Buddha alone, but to the Seven Buddhas (p. 906*b*). Apparently the author of this text has enlarged the older work; as to the magic formulae, he introduced the Seven Buddhas explaining the largest of these *dhāraṇī*, after the vow of the Twelve Generals. Probably he added all these incantations except that regarding this vow. No. 173 seems to have been a copy of the Tibetan version of this later text.

§ 3. Famous images of Yakushi Nyorai, his attendant Bodhisattvas and the Twelve Yakṣa Generals.

A. Yakushi, Nikkō and Gwakkō.

The two attendant Bodhisattvas *Nikkō* and *Gwakkō* (日光, 月光, *Sūryaprabha* and *Candraprabha*, Sunlight and Moonlight), mentioned in Nanjō Nos. 167 (12), 170 and 171, formed with *Yakushi Nyorai* the so-called *Yakushi sanzō* (三尊), represented in sculpture and painting. According to the *Kokon-mokuroku-shō* (古今目錄抄, written in the Kwangen era, A.D. 1243—46) the figures of the Northern wall of the *Kondō* of *Hōryūji* in Nara, which date from the seventh century, are *Yakushi Nyorai* with his Bodhisattvas; but according to the *Kokkwa* No. 315, II it is *Hōsō* (*Hōshō*) *Nyorai* (寶相, Ratnaketu, the Southern Buddha of the *Konkwōmyōkyō*, cf. above, Ch. VIII, § 7), whose precious pearl has been mistaken for Yakushi's medicine-pot. On the Eastern wall, where we should have expected to find Yakushi's figure, another Eastern Buddha, Akshobhya, one of the Five Great Buddhas, is represented.

Famous bronze images of Yakushi dating from the seventh and eighth centuries are those of the *Kondō* of *Hōryūji* (*Kokkwa* No. 169, VII) (beginning of the seventh century, Suiko period; *abhaya* and *varada mudrā*, made with the right hand raised and the left held down, both with palm in front: fearlessness and blessings); *Kō* (香) *Yakushi* of *Shin Yakushiji* in Yamato province (*Kokkwa* No. 166, VI, standing on the lotus, right hand lifted with palm in front (*abhaya mudrā*, which gives fearlessness), a medicine box in the left hand, which is hanging down; attributed to Shōtoku Taishi, but made later, in the Hakuho era, A.D. 673—685); and the *honzon* of *Yakushiji*, Nara. This image was cast either by order of Temmu Tennō (A.D. 672—686) or by Gyōgi Bosatsu (行基, A.D. 670—749) at the command of the Empress Gemmei (A.D. 707—715). The Buddha is seated on a throne (*Kokkwa*

Nr. 96, V); on the left and right are represented the two attendant Bodhisattvas *Nikkō* and *Gwakkō*, standing on lotus seats, and one hand raised with its palm in front. Six Buddhas are seen in his halo (his own manifestations); his right hand makes the *abhaya-mudrā*, the left is lying in his lap with its palm upwards (*varada-mudrā*, bestowing blessings) (*Kokkwa* No. 153, VII).

The *honzon* of *Shin-Yakushiji* is a wooden statue of this Buddha, seated cross-legged and making the *abhaya-mudrā* with his right hand, a medicine pot in his left, which lies on his lap in *varada-mudrā*. He has no crown, but a very elaborate halo with six Buddhas and a blazing pearl on top (Tempyō era, 8th century). A *kanshitsu* (乾漆, dried lacquer) image of Yakushi, made in the same era, is that of the Shingon shrine *Kōzanji* (高山寺) in Katono district, Yamashiro, where one of his two attendant Bodhisattvas (a magnificent *kanshitsu* image of the Tempyō era) is also preserved (*Kokkwa* No. 159, VI; 33, V). This Buddha has neither a crown nor a halo; he makes the *abhaya* and *varada-mudrās* and is seated cross-legged, whereas the Bodhisattva is seated with his right leg drawn up.

Wooden statues of *Nikkō* and *Gwakkō*, standing upon lotus seats, wearing a Bodhisattva crown and with a long lotus flower in their hands (the sun and the moon on top of the lotus flowers) are found in *Jingoji*, Kyōto; they date from the middle of the ninth century (*Kokkwa* No. 229, VII). With regard to pictures of *Sūrya* (*Nitten*), represented as a Bodhisattva, we may refer to *Kokkwa* No. 237, III (painter unknown, 9th century, *Tōji*, the famous *Shingon* sanctuary in Kyōto), and to *Kokkwa* No. 212, V and VI (*Nitten*, *Gwatten* and *Bonten*, three of the twelve protectors of the zodiacal signs, painted by Takuma Shōga in A.D. 1192; also in *Tōji*). *Kokkwa* No. 206 (I and II) gives similar screen-paintings of the Twelve Zodiacal Gods, attributed to the same painter and preserved in *Jingoji*, on Takao-san. Although they do not belong to Yakushi Nyorai's retinue, they are represented as Bodhisattvas with crowns and lotus flowers.

The *Fusō ryakki* repeatedly mentions Yakushi images, made in the seventh and later centuries. In A.D. 668 (the seventh year of Tenchi Tennō's reign) in Shiga district, Ōmi province, *Sufukuji* (崇福寺) (i.e. *Shiga-dera*, 志賀寺, one of the 15 great Buddhist temples mentioned in the *Engishiki*) was erected. The following images were then made and offered to this shrine: one seated *Miroku Butsu*,¹ 16 feet high (this was the principal image), with his two attendant Bodhisattvas *Hokkerin* and *Daimyōsō*, 法花林, 大妙相, "Dharma-flower-wood" and "Great Wonderful Shape" (these *Miroku sanzō* were also the principal deities of *Taema-dera*, erected in A.D. 682),² placed in the *kondō*; one seated Yakushi Butsu with his two attendant Bodhisattvas (*Nikkō* and *Gwakkō*), placed in the *kōdō* (expounding hall), one seated *Amida Butsu* with his two attendant Bodhisattvas (*Kwannon* and *Seishi*) placed in the small *kondō*, and the seated *Shihō-butsu*, 四方佛, the "Buddhas of the four quarters", probably *Aksobhya* (E), *Ratnasambhava* (S), *Ami-tābha* (W.), and *Amoghasiddhi* (N), (each) with two attendant Bodhisattvas, placed in the three-storied pagoda.³

In A.D. 680 (the ninth year of Temmu Tennō's reign, 11th month), when *Yakushiji* was built on account of the Empress' illness, on the altar there were placed a bronze "Sumeru seat" (*Shumi-za*), 16 feet high, the images of *Yakushi*, *Nikkō* and *Gwakkō*, and two of *Kwannon*. Further, outside the curtain, beneath the altar and in front of the Buddha, on both sides the 12 *Yaksha*

¹ A *Miroku-e* or Maitreya festival was held there in A.D. 756 (Tempyō Shōhō 8, III) by Tachibana no Naramaro, and in the same year (VIII) the Empress Kōken offered a hundred religious works to this temple. This Buddha Maitreya was also worshipped in A.D. 815 by Saga Tennō (*Dayu*, II, p. 2061, 3, s.v. *Shiga-dera*).

² *Genkō Shakusho*, Ch. xxviii, p. 1137. Maitreya represented and worshipped as a Buddha, cf. Grunwedel, *Buddhistische Kunst in Indien*, p. 159, *Mythologie des Buddhismus in Tibet und der Mongolei*, p. 122. About the *Miroku sanzō* cf. *Dayūten*, p. 1690, 1, s.v.

³ *Fusō ryakki*, Ch. v, p. 520.

generals were placed, variegated images, seven *shaku* five *sun* high. In addition to these images there were embroidered figures of *Amida*, *Kwannon* and *Seishi*, and, in the *Naiden*, bronze images of these three; in the Western building sliding doors represented *Maitreya*'s paradise (*Miroku jōdo*). Further there were lions, demons, "Yaksha-shaped devas", the *Ni-ō* and the *Kongō-rikishi* (Vajra-holding, Law-protecting Deva's) (at the central gate), sixteen images in all.¹

In A.D. 726 (Jinki 3, VI 15), when the Dajō Tennō (the Empress Genshō) was indisposed, Shōmu Tennō ordered *hōjō* (the liberation of living beings) in all provinces, and in the Eastern *kondō* of *Yamashina-dera* (the *Hossō* shrine *Kōfukuji*), erected for this purpose, were placed the images of Yakushi and his two attendant Bodhisattvas.²

In A.D. 759 (Tempyō hōji 3, VIII 3) the Chinese priest Kien-chān (鑑真和尚, Kanshin Oshō, the founder of the *Vinaya* sect in Japan), on behalf of the soul of the Emperor Shōmu, who had made a vow, but died in A.D. 759, erected *Tō-Shōdaiji*, 唐招提寺, generally called *Shōdaiji*, one of the Seven Great Temples of Nara (later instead of this shrine *Saidaiji*, erected in A.D. 765, is enumerated among these seven).

In the *kondō* *Locana*'s image, 16 feet high, was placed; this had been made by the Chinese priest I-tsing (義靜, Giyō); in the *kōdō* the *Buddha Maitreya* with his two attendant Bodhisattvas, also made by a T'ang priest. In the dining-room *Yaku-shi*'s paradise (*jōdo*) and *Amida*'s figure with his two attendant Bodhisattvas *Kwannon* and *Seishi* were represented on sliding-doors (*shōji*), given by Fujiwara no Nakamaro Ason (Emi no Oshikatsu, conquered in A.D. 764 by Dōkyō, and killed). A *Kensaku-dō* was devoted to the images of *Fukū-kensaku Kwannon* (*Amoghapāśa Avalokiteśvara*, a gold-coloured image) and the *hachibu-shū* (八部衆, Devas, Nāgas, Yakshas, Gandharvas,

¹ Ibid., Ch. v, p. 527.

² Ibid., Ch. vi, p. 551.

Asuras, Garudas, Kinnaras and Mahoragas), presented by Fujiwara no Kiyokawa, the great ambassador to China, who had remained in China and obtained dignities from the Chinese Emperor. Finally, the *Issaikyō*, the whole Canon, consisting of 4208 *kwan*, had been copied on behalf of the State by the *Daisōzu Kenkei*, 賢影, written 賢璟 by the *Genkō Shakusho*¹ and 賢憬 by Washio, who says that 5048 (the ordinary number) was the number of *kwan*, and that he was a *Hossō* priest of *Kōfukuji*, the first who ascended the altar and received the commandments in A.D. 756 from the Chinese *Vinaya* priest Kanshin, when the latter practised the *Kamma (karma) no hō* in *Tōdaiji*.²

In A.D. 788 (Enryaku 7) Saichō (Dengyō Daishi, A.D. 767—822), 21 years of age, erected a chapel on *Hieizan* (which afterwards became the main hall (*hondō*) of the famous monastery called *Enryakuji*), and with his own hands made a life-size wooden image of *Yakushi Nyorai*. The name of his chapel was *Kombon chūdō ichijō shikwan-in*, 根本中堂一乘止觀院, "Original central chapel, temple of deep meditation on the only vehicle" (to Nirvāna, according to the Lotus *sūtra*), generally abbreviated into *Chūdō*, "Central chapel", the Northern and Southern buildings, also erected by him, being the *Monjudō* and the *Issaikyōzō*.³

In A.D. 803 (Enryaku 22, interc. X 23) Saichō made four images of *Yakushi Nyorai*, more than 6 shaku high, which he called "Tathāgata, King of Virtuous Name and Felicity, of the Unsurpassable Paradise" (*Mushō-jōdo Zenmyōshō-kichijō-ō Nyorai*) He

¹ *Genkō Shakusho*, Ch xxii, p 1026, cf. below, Ch xv, § 5

² Washio, p. 283, 2, s.v. *Kenkei*, *Fusō ryakki*, *bassui* (extract), Junnin Tennō, p. 573.

³ *Fusō ryakki*, Kwammu Tennō, p 581, cf p 626 (A.D. 886), *Yakushi* image made by Saichō and placed in the Eastern Pagoda building, *Shaka* image made and placed in the Western Pagoda building, temple erected for the protection of the state As to the *Yakushi* of the *Chūdō* cf. Ch xxv, p 698 (A.D. 936, saved from the fire which destroyed the *Chūdō* and more than 40 other buildings), and p. 720 (A.D. 955, worshipped).

made these images in *Kamado-yama-dera* in *Dazaifu* (Chikuzen), in order to obtain a good voyage to China for the four ships of the ambassador, with whom he went to that country. This is clear evidence of the great protective power ascribed by him to Yakushi Nyorai.¹

In A.D. 927 (Enchō 5, II 25) and in A.D. 929 (IX 17) an Imperial Prince and the four sons of the Sadaijin Fujiwara no Tadahira (who published the *Engishiki*) had Yakushi images made and a *Yakushi jōdo* painted to celebrate the 60th and 50th birthdays of Fujiwara no Kiyozane and Tadahira. The former held a religious ceremony in the Momosono palace and copied the *Hokkekyō*, *Yakushikyō*, *Kongō-jumyō-kyō* and *Hannya-shun-kyō* on variegated paper with illustrations in gold and silver. The latter gave a vegetarian entertainment (*sai-e*) to the monks in *Hōshōji* (法性寺) (erected by Tadahira), where they placed a silver Yakushi image before the Vairocana of the main hall, whereas the painting of this Buddha's paradise was hung in the hexagonal Buddha hall.²

In A.D. 983 (Tengen 6, III 22) the Court nobles (*kuge*) "sacrificed" (*kuyō*, i. e. erected) *Enyūji* (圓融寺) (the Emperor *Enyū* abdicated the following year and was buried in A.D. 991 in the mausoleum north of this temple) in Yamashiro, Katono district, and placed there (as *honzon*) the statues of the Seven Healing Buddhas; East of the pond they built a *Hokkedō*.³

In A.D. 988 (Eien 2, III 26) the Udaijin Fujiwara no Ason Tamemitsu, lamenting the death of his daughter, concubine of Kwazan Tennō, erected *Hōjūji* (法住寺) in Kyōto. The central image in the *Gokendō* (五間堂) was a gold-coloured *Shaka*, sixteen feet high, seated cross-legged, and on the left and right there were gold-coloured images of Yakushi, Kwannon, *Emmei*

¹ Ibid., II. p. 588.

² Ibid., Ch. xxiv, pp. 684, 690.

³ Ibid., Ch. xxvii, p. 748.

and *Nyoirin* (Kwannon), six feet high. In the *Hokke-sammaidō*¹ *Fugen* (*Samantabhadra*) was represented, riding on a six-toothed elephant, and in the *Jōgyō-sammaidō* *Amida* with the *Shishōshu* (四攝衆, the "Four Ruling Bodhisattvas", *Shishō Bosatsu*, belonging to the 37 saints of the *Kongōkai*, *Kongō-kō*, 金剛鉤, *Kongō-saku*, 索, *Kongō-sa*, 鑢, and *Kongō-rei*, 鈴, "Vajra hook, rope, chain and bell").² Two years later (A.D. 990, Eiso 2, III 20) the Dajō Tennō (Kwazan) had a five-storied pagoda built in the compound of *Enyūji*, with four pictures of *Mahāvairocana* and the statues of *Amida*, *Shaka*, *Yakushi* and *Miroku* upon the altar.³

In A.D. 1010 (Kwankō 7, III 18) the Emperor Ichijō offered statues of *Shaka*, *Monju* and *Fugen*, gold-coloured statues of the Seven Healing Buddhas, and 1000 copies of the Lotus *sūtra*; it is not said where they were placed,⁴ but we learn from the *Nihon kiryaku* that it was in the *Nanden*, the "Southern building" of the Palace.⁵

In A.D. 1050 (Eishō 5, III 16) the Kwampaku Sadayūjin Fujiwara no Yorimichi added a new chapel, a *sūtra* repository and a bell tower to *Hōjōji* (法成寺) in Kyōto (erected A.D. 1022 by his father Michinaga), with gold-coloured statues of *Mahāvairocana*, 26 feet high, *Shaka* and *Yakushi*, 16 feet high. Here we find *Shaka* and *Yakushi* as *Mahāvairocana*'s attendants, an idea of the mystic school; in addition to these statues the *Shitennō*, *Fukūkensaku Kwannon*, *Fudō Myōō* and *Daitoku* were placed in the chapel.⁶ There was also a special *Yakushidō* in this compound, an *Amidadō* and a *Hokkedō*, which were all destroyed by the

¹ Cf. above, Ch. VIII, § 18 B, p. 359

² *Fusō ryakki*, Ch. XXVII, p. 755. As to the *Shishōshu* cf. *Dayūten*, p. 720, 3, pp. 480 sqq.

³ *Fusō ryakki*, Ch. XXVII, p. 756

⁴ *Ibid.*, Ch. XXVIII, p. 767

⁵ *Nihon kiryaku*, *kōhen*, Ch. XI, p. 1079

⁶ *Fusō ryakki*, Ch. XXIX, p. 794.

big fire of A.D. 1058 II 23,¹ but the two former chapels and the *kondō* were rebuilt in A.D. 1065, when the Emperor Go-Reizei was present at the dedicatory ceremony (X 18) and granted a great amnesty to the Empire.² In the *Yakushidō* the Seven Healing Buddhas were worshipped, for in A.D. 1091 (Kwanji 5, VIII 7) we read that a severe earthquake damaged their images.³

In A.D. 1063 (Kōhei 6, X 29) the Court nobles erected a new shrine within the compound of *Enryakuji* on *Tendaizan* (i.e. *Hieiizan*), with gold-coloured images of *Yakushi*, *Nyoirin Kwannon* and *Monju*. They called it *Jissō-in* (實相院), and in the *Sammaidō* they placed a *Saptaratna stūpa* (*shippō toba*) with a copy of the *Hokke-rengokyō*, decorated with gold paint (*kondei*), within it.⁴

Similarly a gold-coloured *Yakushi Nyorai*, sixteen feet high, with *Nikkō* and *Gwakkō*, belonged to the new images of the newly erected Eastern *kondō* of *Kōfukuji* in A.D. 1067 (Chiryaku 3, II 5),⁵ and to those of the *kondō* of *Enshūji* (圓宗寺), erected in A.D. 1070 (Enkyū 2, XII 26) (with *Mahāvairocana*, *Ichiji-kinrin* and the devas of the six heavens).⁶ Finally, in A.D. 1083 (Eihō 2, X 1) the Emperor Shirakawa invited 160 monks and went in person to *Hōshōji* (法勝寺), where the *Tendai zasu* Ryōshin (良眞) led the dedicatory ceremony of the nine-storied pagoda, the *Yakushidō*, and the octagonal chapel.⁷ Evidently the Healing Buddha, either with his two attendant Bodhisattvas or in a group of seven Buddhas, occupied an important place in the *Tendai* cults of the great temples of the eleventh century.

¹ L I, p. 800

² L I, p. 808

³ Ibid, Ch. xxx, p. 843

⁴ Ibid, Ch. xxix, p. 806.

⁵ L I, p. 810

⁶ L I, p. 816

⁷ Ibid, Ch. xxx, p. 34, octagonal because Mount Potalaka, Kwannon's heaven, was said to have this form

§ 3, B. *The Twelve Yakṣa Generals and the Eight Bodhisattvas.*

The zodiacal signs are connected by the Chinese Buddhists not only with the twelve Devas mentioned above, but also with the twelve Yaksha Generals, spoken of in the *Yakushikyō* (Nos. 167 (12), 170 and 171), who promised to protect all faithful readers of that *sūtra* and devout worshippers of *Yakushi Nyorai*, and who were praised for this virtuous vow by the Tathāgata. Evidently their number has caused the Chinese Buddhists to worship them, not only as attendants of the Healing Buddha, but also as protectors of the twelve zodiacal signs, i.e. of the regions, months and hours connected with them.

The *Butsuzō-zui* (published A.D. 1690, Ch. IV, p. 1), followed by the *Bukkyō daiju* (III, p. 4408, 1, s.v. *Yakushi jūni jinshō*), gives their names, *honji* (Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and one Devī), zodiacal signs, and attributes, but in the reverse order and therefore with other zodiacal signs than those given in the list of the *Bukkyō daijiten* (p. 934, 1, s.v. *Jūni shinshō*), which differs with regard to some of the *honji* too. The *Bukkyō daijiten* must have borrowed its details from an other work and not from the *Butsuzō-zui*, for its list gives the names in the order of the *sūtra* and the zodiacal signs with which they correspond; moreover it mentions three other *honji* names, e.g. that of the Bodhisattva *Nyo-i-rin Kwannon*, instead of that of the *Devī Marīcī*, as fifth of the *honji*. They all follow Huen-tsang's transcription of the twelve names of the Yaksha Generals. The list of the *Dayiten* is as follows (See p. 552).

It strikes us at once that Amitābha and his two Bodhisattvas are placed in entirely wrong quarters: E.N.E., N.N.E., and E., instead of in the W., W.N.W. and W.S.W., where we find them correctly in the *Butsuzō-zui* and the *Dayi*. There we find the following *honji*, zodiacal signs and attributes.

Hüen-tsang	Japanese	Sanskrit	honji	Sanskrit	Zodiac
1. 宮毗羅	Kubira	Kumbhīra	【Miroku】	【Maitreya	N.
2. 伐折羅	Basera	Vajra	【Daiseishi】	Mahāsthāna-prāpta	N.N.E.
3. 迷企羅	Meikira	Mihira	Amida	Amitābha	E.N.E.
4. 安底羅	Anteira	Andīra	Kwannon	Avalokiteśvara	E.
5. 頻伽羅	Anira	Anila	Nyoirin Kwannon	Cintāmanicakra Avalokiteśvara	E.S.E.
6. 珊底羅	Santeira	Śaṇḍila	Kokūzō	Ākāśagarbha	S.S.E.
7. 因達羅	Indara	Indra	Jizō	Kṣhītigarbha	S.
8. 波夷羅	Haira	Vajra(?)	Monju	Mañjuśrī	S.S.W.
9. 麻虎羅	Makora	Mahoraga	Dai Itoku Myō-ō	Mahābalaguna Vidyārāja	W.S.W.
10. 真達羅	Shindara	Kinnara	Fugen	Samantabhadra	W.
11. 招杜羅	Shōtora	Catura	Dai Nichi	Mahāvairocana	W.N.W.
12. 毗羯羅	Bikara	Vikārāla	Shaka	Śākyamuni	N.N.W.

Japanese	honji	Sanskrit	Zodiac	months	hours	attributes
1. Kubira	Miroku	Maitreya	亥	10th	9-11 P.M.	big sword
2. Basera	Daiseishi	Mahāsthāna-prāpta	戌	9th	7-9 P.M.	sword
3. Meikira	Amida	Amitābha	酉	8th	5-7 P.M.	single-pointed vajra
4. Anteira	Kwannon	Avalokiteśvara	申	7th	3-5 P.M.	precious pearl
5. Anira	Marishi	Marīci	未	6th	1-3 P.M.	arrow
6. Santeira	Kokūzō	Ākāśagarbha	午	5th	11-1 P.M.	conch
7. Indara	Jizō	Kṣhītigarbha	巳	4th	9-11 A.M.	halberd
8. Haira	Monju	Mañjuśrī	辰	3rd	7-9 A.M.	bow and arrow
9. Makora	Yakushi	Bhaishajyaguru	卯	2nd	5-7 A.M.	axe
10. Shindara	Fugen	Samantabhadra	寅	1st	3-5 A.M.	precious pearl and staff
11. Shōtora	Kongoshu	Vajrapāni	丑	12th	1-3 A.M.	big sword
12. Bīkara	Shaka	Śākyamuni	子	11th	11-1 A.M.	three-pointed vajra

Here Amitābha and Bhaiṣajyaguru are placed in their proper quarters, West and East, but it is strange that one of the *honji* of Yakushi's attendants is that Buddha himself! Strange also is the figure of the *devī Marīcī* among these Buddhas (Amida, Yakushi and Shaka) and Bodhisattvas. Vajrapāṇi has taken Mahāvairocana's place, whose name we can hardly dispense with in connection with Amitābha and Śākyamuni. Evidently the list of the *honji* is better in the *Dayūten*, but that of the zodiacal signs is correct in the *Butsuzō-zui* and the *Daiju*. In the *Kokkwa* (Nr. 116, VII, p. 149) the connection of the Twelve Generals with the zodiacal signs is given in a third way, apparently in order to combine the first month (寅) with the first General (Kubira), but in doing so the quarters do not agree with the *honji* (not given in the *Kokkwa*). Here the transcription of names, used in Nanjō No. 167 (12), Poh Śrīmitra's translation, is followed, where e.g. the first general is called 金毘羅, *Kompira* (Kumbhira) ¹

The names of the Eight Bodhisattvas, who according to the *sūtra* shall appear at the death of devout worshippers and lead them to Amitābha's Paradise, are not given in the text, but their number recalls the Eight Great Bodhisattvas of Nanjō Nos. 880, 981 and 997 ² These eight are. Mañjuśrī, Avalokiteśvara, Maitreya, Ākāśagarbha, Samantabhadra, Vajrapāṇi, Sarvaṇavaranaṣṭhambhī, and Kṣatigarbha, probably the same as those grouped around the Buddha Śākyamuni in the Elurā Cave temples. On comparing this list with those given above, we see that there too all are found, except the seventh (and the sixth, Vajrapāṇi, which is lacking in the list of the *Dayūten*). We find three Buddhas in the *Dayūten* (Amitābha, Mahāvairocana and Śākyamuni), who are often worshipped together, eight Bodhisattvas and one Vidyārāja. These eight Bodhisattvas may

¹ Cf *Dayūten*, p. 503, 3, s.v. *Kompira shin*.

² Cf the present writer's treatise on "*The Bodhisattva Tt-tsang (Jizō) in China and Japan*" (1915), Ch. I, § 4, pp. 15 sqq.

have been considered by the author of the *sūtra* as the guides to Amitābha's Paradise, namely Maitreya, Mahāsthānaprāpta, Avalokiteśvara, Cintāmanicakra Avalokiteśvara, Ākāśagarbha, Kṣitigarbha, Mañjuśrī and Samantabhadra. Nos. 2 and 3 are Amitābha's special attendants, and nos. 7 and 8 those of Śākyamuni.¹ They all belong to the 25 Bodhisattvas of Amitābha's retinue (where *Dai Itoku* too is mentioned as a Bodhisattva, cf. *Butsuzō-zui*, II, p. 9a).²

According to the *Himitsu jirin*, however, the *Gojūkwanshō* (五十卷鈔, written by the Tendai priest Shingaku, 心覺, who died in A.D. 1181) and other works give the names of the Eight Bodhisattvas as follows: *Monju*, *Kwannon*, *Daiseishi*, *Hōdange* (寶檀花)(?), *Mujin-i* (無盡意, i.e. *Akṣaya-mati*),³ *Yaku-ō* (藥王), *Yaku-jō* (藥上) (*Bhaiṣajyarāja* and *Bhaiṣajyamudgata*, cf. Nanjō No. 305),⁴ and *Miroku* (*Maitreya*). These eight Bodhisattvas, except *Hōdange*, are also found among Amitābha's 25 followers in the *Butsuzō-zui*.

As to the images of the Twelve *Yaksa* Generals, called the *Jūni shin* (or *jūn*) *shō*, 十二神將, the "Twelve Divine (or Spirit) Generals", a clay figure in *Shin Yakushiji* at Nara, attributed to Hada Tori (秦度利) and dating from the middle of the 8th century (Tempyō era), represents *Meikira*, the third of the twelve, *suyaku* of Amitābha (*Kokkwa* No. 203, VII). Two reliefs, representing *Meikira* and *Haira*, preserved in *Kōfukuji*, Nara, were made in Kōbō Daishi's time (Kōnin era, 810—823) and even attributed to him (*Meikira* with a single-pointed vajra, *Haira* without attributes, *Kokkwa* No. 222, VII). The wooden images of two of the Twelve Generals, found in the same temple

¹ Cf. Grunwedel, *Mythologie des Buddhismus in Tibet und der Mongolei*, p. 118 (8 Buddhas, namely Śākyamuni and seven others, "mit Amitābha und Gautama bildet er eine viel verehrte, beliebte Trias").

² Cf. *ibid.*, Ch. III, § 3, pp. 122 sqq.

³ Cf. *Himitsu jirin*, p. 1038, 2, *Dajiten*, p. 1709, 2, s.v. *Mujin-i*.

⁴ *Himitsu jirin*, p. 1063, cf. below, Ch. xvi, § 2, Lotus *sūtra*, Ch. xxv.

and made by an unknown artist of the beginning of the 13th century, are reproduced in the *Kokkwa* No. 287, VIII: *Haira* (No. 8) with bow and arrow, and *Shōtora* (No. 11) drawing his sword; two menacing warriors full of vigour and life.

Makora (No. 9), with an axe in his right hand, holds his left above his eyes, keeping a sharp look out for the demons against whom he has to protect Yakushi's worshippers, and another of the twelve Generals looks down with a menacing gaze as if the enemy were approaching from below (his attribute is lost). These two are beautiful wooden statues made by the great sculptor Unkei (運慶, Unkyō), the famous Buddhist monk, who in A.D. 1197 made the *Shutennō* of *Tōdaiji*, as well as *Dai Nichi Nyorai*, and in 1203 the *Ni-ō* of the great Southern gate of the same temple; in 1218 by order of the Shōgun of Kamakura the *Yakushi Nyorai* of the *Ōkura-shindō*, the *Vairocana* of the *Kondō* of *Kōzanji*; *Piṇḍola* of the *Rakandō*, etc.¹ The two statues of *Makora* and the other General, formerly belonging to *Kutaiji* (九體寺) in Nara, are now in the possession of Mr. Masuda (*Kokkwa* No. 109, VII; 116, VII).

A painting of the end of the Fujiwara period (12th century), belonging to the Kose school (Yamato-e), is a so-called *mandara* (*maṇḍala*) of *Yakushi Nyorai*. This Buddha is seated on a high throne, cross-legged on a lotus, with a medicine pot in his hands, lying in his lap in *dhyāna-mudrā*, and two round haloes behind his body and head; twelve Buddhas (manifestations of the Buddha himself) are seen in the upper halo. The two Bodhisattvas *Nikkō* and *Gwakkō*, with sun and moon resting on lotus seats in their hands, are standing before his throne, and on either side six of the Twelve Divine Generals, frightful demons with swords and other weapons, are ready to protect all faithful believers (*Kokkwa* No. 32, I, private collection of Mr. Matsui).

About A.D. 1247 the priest Shunei (俊英) of Kyōto, a well-

¹ Washio, p. 27, 1, s.v. *Unkyō*.

known painter whose sect is not mentioned, in fulfilment of a vow made a picture of Yakushi Nyorai and the Twelve Generals, which proved to have great divine power (*reiken*).¹

In the *Wakan sansai zue* (和漢三才圖會, written A.D. 1713 by Terajima Ryōan, 寺島良安) Yakushi Nyorai's images are often mentioned among the *honzon* or "principal saints" of the temples of Japan. We find him e.g. in the Eastern *Kondō* of *Kōfukuji* (Tempyō 20, A.D. 748, dedicated by the Emperor Shōmu in order to save the life of his aunt Genshō Tennō, who died the same year).²

Other statues are Yakushi, Shaka and Amida (with Kwannon) in the middle chapel, Western pagoda (*Saitō-in*) and in the Yogawa shrine of *Enryakuji* on *Hieiizan*,³ *Ishi* (stone) *Yakushi* with his 12 spirits (神, the Yaksha generals), carved from the sparkling stone of the mountain at Ishi-Yakushi village, Ise province,⁴ and the same figures in the *kondō* of *Takao-san Jingokokusoji* (高雄山神護國祚寺), a temple erected in accordance with the vow of Kōnin Tennō (A.D. 770—781),⁵ in Yamashiro province. Yakushi as *honzon* of *Kwōryūji* (廣隆寺), and of three other temples in Yamashiro; one of these images was dedicated by Yōzei Tennō in A.D. 877, and another by Ichijō Tennō in A.D. 1003.⁶ Many *Yakushi-dō* (chapels) and Yakushi images as *honzon* of larger temples are mentioned also in other provinces. In Kamakura we find him twice with his 12 attendant spirits; one of these groups was made by Unkei (beginning of the 13th century).⁷

All these sculptures and paintings are clear evidence of the

¹ Washio, p. 565, 1, s.v. *Shunei*

² *Wakan sansai zue*, Ch. LXXIII, p. 1283, 2

³ L.I., Ch. LXXI, p. 1160, 2.

⁴ L.I., Ch. LXXI, p. 1184, 2.

⁵ L.I., Ch. LXXII, p. 1235, 1.

⁶ L.I., Ch. LXXII, pp. 1244, 1, 1242, 2.

⁷ L.I., Ch. LXVII, pp. 1083, 2, 1085, 1.

great importance attached from the seventh to the thirteenth century by Japanese Buddhists to the worship of the Healing Buddha.

§ 4. *Expounding the Yakushikyō, and Yakushi-kekwa in Japan (A.D. 686—842 and 875).*

As seen above (Ch. I, § 10), in A.D. 686 (V 24) "the Emperor Temmu's body was ill at ease. Accordingly the *Yakushikyō* was expounded in the Temple of Kawara, and a retreat (*ango*) was held within the Palace".¹

As to the *Yakushi-kekwa* or "Rites of Repentance in worship of the Healing Buddha", we may refer to Ch. VIII, § 14. The fact is there mentioned that in A.D. 720 (Yōrō 4, VIII 2) the Empress Genshō endeavoured to save the life of the Right Minister Fujiwara no Fubito by causing the *Yakushikyō* to be read for one day and one night in 48 Buddhist temples in and near the capital (4 × 12, evidently in connection with Yakushi's 12 vows), and that (in accordance with the *sūtra*) two days previously great amnesty had been proclaimed throughout the Empire on his behalf.²

The Minister died, however, the following day, and this may have been the reason that the *sūtra* and its rites were not again used for 24 years.

Then, in A.D. 744 (Tennyō 16, XII 4) Shōmu Tennō ordered *Yakushi-kekwa* to be performed during seven days in all provinces, probably in connection with the worship of Vairocana and the offering of ten thousand lamps in order to purify the people from sin towards the end of the year.

In A.D. 745 (Tennyō 17, IX 19), when the same Emperor was indisposed, not only *Yakushi-kekwa* were practised in all

¹ *Nihongi*, Ch. XXIX, p. 541, Aston II, p. 376.

² *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. VIII, p. 123.

Buddhist temples of the Capital and Home provinces and in all "pure places of renowned mountains", but also seven Yakushi images, 6 *shaku* 3 *sun* high, and seven copies of the *Yakushikyō* (each of one chapter) were made in the capital and in all the provinces. The second *sūtra* then copied and read was the *Daihannyakyō*.¹ Evidently Shōmu Tennō was a devout worshipper of Bhaishajyaguru, for after his abdication in A.D. 749 (Interc V 23) he became a monk by the name of *Shōman* and retired to *Yakushiji*; his consort became a nun and took the name of Mampuku.²

The next year (A.D. 750, IV 4) his daughter, the Empress Kōken, who, too, had a fervent belief in this Buddha, stated by proclamation that she took refuge to the *Yakushikyō* and performed *gyōdō kekwa*, i. e. circumambulation of his image and rites of repentance in his honour, in order to purify the people from sin; at the same time she granted amnesty to the criminals of the whole country.³

In A.D. 751, X 23, when her father was indisposed, she invited 7 × 7 wise monks to the *Shin-Yakushiji*, where they during 7 × 7 days had to perform the rites in worship of Yakushi Nyorai for lengthening life, at the same time they received vegetarian entertainment, and amnesty was bestowed upon the people, all in accordance with the *sūtra*.⁴ Three years later (A.D. 754, XI 8) she repeated these measures for the health and long life of her parents.⁵ Her father died in A.D. 756 (V 2), and a year after his death she entertained 1500 priests in *Tōdaiji* and had rites of repentance (probably *Yakushi-kekwa*) performed for seven days on behalf of his soul.⁶ Yet the death of her father may have

¹ *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. xvi, p. 261.

² L.I. Ch. xvii, p. 286.

³ L.I., Ch. xviii, p. 294.

⁴ L.I., Ch. xviii, p. 298.

⁵ L.I., Ch. xix, p. 311.

⁶ L.I., Ch. xx, pp. 322, 336.

diminished her belief in Yakushi's saving power, for she never again ordered his rites to be practised, even not when her mother was ill (A.D. 758, VII 4).

In A.D. 770 (Hōki 1, VIII 16), on the second seventh day after the death of the Empress Shōtoku (Kōken), *sūtra* reading took place for her soul in *Yakushiji*.¹

In A.D. 773 (Hōki 4, XII 25) the Emperor Kōnin in accordance with the *Yakushikyō* invited wise Buddhist priests to a vegetarian entertainment and requested them to perform circumambulatory rites; at the same time he granted great amnesty, because compassion caused fields of felicity and glory of the dynasty.²

As to Kwammu Tennō (A.D. 781—806), not until A.D. 796 (Enryaku 15, X 21—27) did fear of drought and pestilence lead him to order *Yakushi-kekwa* in the Palace, to be practised by 40 monks, and in A.D. 805 (II 19), when he was ill, the same rites took place in all *kokubunji*; shortly before his death (A.D. 806, II 23) a copy of Yakushi's image and of the Lotus *sūtra* were made to save his life.³

It was stated above (Ch. VIII, § 14, pp. 303 sqq.), that under Nimmyō Tennō's reign the nightly *Yakushi-kekwa*, during three days combined with *tendoku* of the *Kongō-hannyakyō* in the day-time and performed in all *kokubunji* against drought and pestilence, were mentioned from A.D. 833 (VI 8) to 842 (III 15); and that in A.D. 875 (XII 13) similar measures were taken by the Emperor Seiwa against drought, pestilence, war and fire.⁴ After this we do not again read about these rites.

§ 5. Names of priests connected with the *Yakushi* cult.

The first well-known name connected with the *Yakushi* cult is that of Shōtoku Taishi (A.D. 574—622), who according to

¹ L I, Ch xxx, p 528.

² L I, Ch. xxxii, p. 572.

³ *Nihon kōki*, Ch v, p. 2, Ch. xii, pp 43 sqq., Ch. xiii, p 61.

⁴ *Nihon kiryaku*, *Zempen*, Ch xviii, p. 662.

tradition completed in A.D. 607, the 15th year of the Empress Suiko's reign, the building of the two great *shichidō-garan* (Buddhist temples consisting in all of seven buildings) of *Shitennōji* in Naniwa and *Hōryū-gakumonji* (Hōryūji) in Ikaruga (斑鳩). He placed the images of the *Shitennō* in the former sanctuary, and in the *kondō* of the latter the bronze image of *Yakushi Nyorai* (*Kokkwa* No. 169, VII), made in the same year. He thus fulfilled his original vow, made in A.D. 587 at the time of his father Yōmei Tennō's death.¹ The maker of this Yakushi image is said to have been the celebrated Tori (止利), the first *Bukko* (佛工) or *Busshi* (佛師), maker of Buddhist images, of Japan.²

In A.D. 689, the third year of the Empress Jitō's reign (VII 1) "in accordance with his request, the Buddhist priest Jitoku (自得), Yemishi of Michinoku, was granted a gold-copper image of *Yakushi Butsu* and a gold-copper image of *Kwanzeon Bosatsu*, a bell, a precious curtain, an incense burner, and a banner".³

Three priests of the Hossō sect are mentioned, namely Zenshu (善珠, A.D. 723—797), among whose many writings were some devoted to the *Mirokukyō*, *Saishōōkyō*, *Yakushikyō* (a commentary of one chapter), and *Bommōkyō*,⁴ Gomyō (護命, A.D. 750—834), who in A.D. 808 expounded the *Yuumakyō* in Yamashina-dera, in 826 performed *tendoku* of the *Yakushikyō* in *Shun-Yakushiji*, and the following year, after having become *sōjō*, was appointed *kōshu* (leader) of a meeting in which he explained the *Hokkekyō* for seven days and nights by order of the former Emperor Saga, who had himself copied this text with golden characters,⁵ and Sehei (施平), who in A.D. 827 at a religious meeting in the Palace discussed the Law with Kūkai (Kōbō Daishi) and other

¹ Washio, p. 615, 1, s.v. *Shōtoku Taishi*

² Washio, p. 851, 1, s.v. *Tori*

³ *Nihongi*, Ch. xxx, p. 552, Aston II, p. 393

⁴ Washio, p. 709, 1, s.v. *Zenshu*

⁵ Washio, p. 337, 1, s.v. *Gomyō*.

priests, when the Emperor Junna had made a *Yakushi* image and copied the *Rengehō-mandara* with golden ink.¹

In the same year the *Sanron* priest Gen-ei (玄睿) of *Saidaiji* praised (and worshipped) a *Yakushi* image.²

Of the *Tendai* sect its founder, Dengyō Daishi (A.D. 767—822), in 788 expressed his devotion to this Buddha by carving his wooden statue and placing it in a shrine.³ Further, the famous Son-i (尊意, A.D. 866—940), afterwards *zasu* of *Enryakuji*, as a boy had this Buddha as his tutelary image, which he presented to his teacher as a precious gift.⁴ Another priest of the mystic branch of the *Tendai* sect was Annen (安然), a very learned monk of Hieizan; among the enormous number of his mystic works were writings devoted to the *shūgon* (mantras) of *Yakushi*, as well as to Amida, Monju, Fudō Myōō, Fukūkensaku Kwannon and Kokūzō (Ākāśagarbha).⁵ This priest lived towards the end of the ninth century; two centuries later another monk of Hieizan (Myōjitsu, 明實, who died in A.D. 1093), proved to be a fervent worshipper of Mañjuśrī (nine of whose pictures he daily painted and dedicated) and of Bhaiṣajyaguru, in whose central chapel he offered incense and flowers during 2800 (4 × 7 × 100) days.⁶ The same combination of the *Monju* and *Yakushi* cults, connected with those of *Amida* and the Six *Jizō*'s, is found in the biography of Ennō (圓能), who died in A.D. 1151.⁷ In the first half of the 14th century the *Tendai* priest Jishō (慈紗, A.D. 1291—1368), when founding the *Mitsuzō-in* of the mystic branch of his sect in Owari province, made *Yakushi* the *honzon* of this temple.⁸ Finally, in A.D. 1635, the priest Tanshō (但唱), the founder

¹ Washio, p. 688, 1, s.v. *Sehei*.

² Washio, p. 293, 2, s.v. *Gen-ei*.

³ Washio, p. 396, 2, s.v. *Saichō*.

⁴ Washio, p. 753, 1, s.v. *Son-i*.

⁵ Washio, p. 5, 1, s.v. *Annen*.

⁶ Washio, p. 1031, 1, s.v. *Myōjitsu*.

⁷ Washio, p. 105, 1, s.v. *Ennō*.

⁸ Washio, p. 430, 2, s.v. *Jishō*.

of the *Dainichi-in*, a mystic *Tendai* shrine in Musashi province, was said to have been born by the favour of Yakushi of Arima, to whom his mother had prayed for a child.¹

As to the *Shingon* sect, we found no names of its priests connected with the Yakushi cult before A.D. 1469, when Dōyu (道瑜) of the *Shingi Shingon* sect wrote a work on *Yakushi goma* (a burnt offering, *homa*, in worship of Bhaishajyaguru)² The next name is that of the *Shingon* priest Shōkai (照海, 1552—1616), who in A.D. 1605 caused an image of Yakushi Nyorai to be made and placed it as *honzon* in *Shimpukujī* (眞福寺), newly founded by him at the foot of Atago-san in Yedo.³ Finally, in A.D. 1674 the famous *Shingon* priest Jōgon (淨嚴, 1639—1702), whose great activity in the service of Buddha's Law was highly appreciated by the devout Shōgun Tsunayoshi (reigned A.D. 1680—1709), expounded the *Yakushikyō*, which apparently was one of his favourite works together with the *Daihannyakyō*, the *Fumonbon* (*Kwannongyō*), the *Amidakyō* and the *Rishukyō* (Nanjō No 1034).⁴

We learn from the above facts that in the eighth century and in the first half of the ninth the *Hossō* priests, and thenceforward during many centuries those of the mystic branch of the *Tendai* sect were the principal worshippers of Yakushi Nyorai; until the fifteenth century the *Shingon* priests did not pay much attention to his cult. Yet in the eighth century the Indian patriarchs of the *Shingon* sect, Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra, and the Chinese priest Yih-king had translated *kalpas* (ceremonial rules) on Yakushi's cult, and from the ninth century its mystic tendency was evident in Japan also.

¹ Washio, p. 788, 2, s.v. *Tanshō*.

² Washio, p. 889, 1, s.v. *Dōyu*.

³ *Himitsu jirin*, p. 581, 1, s.v. *Shōkai*.

⁴ Washio, p. 663, 2, s.v. *Jōgon*.

§ 6 *The mystic Yakushi-hō.*

When in A.D. 803 Dengyō Daishi (Saichō, A.D. 767—822), the founder of the *Tendai* sect, was about to go to China in order to study Buddhist doctrines, he is said to have held a *hōjō-e* (放生會) or "Meeting for setting free living beings" in *Kamado-yamadera* in *Dazaifu* (Chikuzen).¹ We saw above, that Huen-tsang's translation of the *Yakushikyō* prescribes the liberation of 7×7 living beings. Evidently he hoped to obtain Yakushi's powerful protection while crossing the sea, for this was one of the blessings bestowed by this Buddha upon his worshippers (arresting calamity, increasing wealth, removing illness, giving easy child-birth and a safe voyage).² According to the *Shingon* sect, however, he based his *Yakushi-hō* upon the *Ashiku-hō* (阿闍法), i.e. the ceremony in worship of the Buddha *Aksobhya*. The *Shingon* priest Ningai (仁海, A.D. 955—1046, especially famous for his successful rain ceremonies) declared *Yakushi* to be identical with *Ashiku* (*Aksobhya*) and placed him among the Five Buddhas of the *Kongō-kai*, because both are Buddhas of the East. Others identified him with *Dai Nichi* (*Mahāvairocana*) of the *Taizokai* (whose cult, as stated above, Ch. VIII, § 14, p. 301, was sometimes connected with that of Yakushi), or with *Shaka* (*Śakyamuni*) and *Amida*. The variety of these explanations is due to the fact that at the time of the introduction of the mystic creed he had no place in the *Ryōbu mandara*.

There are four *kalpas* (ceremonial rules, *giki*, 儀軌) of the Tantric school, explaining the meditation (*kwangyō*, 觀行) on and the prayers (*nenju*, 念誦) to *Yakushi Nyorai*. Two of them were translated in the eighth century by Vajrabodhi (who translated between A.D. 723 and 730) and Amoghavajra (who ended his work in A.D. 771). The third *kalpa* is entitled *Yakushi*

¹ He also made four *Yakushi* images, to protect the four ships, cf. above, § 3, A, p. 547.

² *Himitsu jirin*, p. 1064, 1, s.v. *Yakushi Nyorai*.

Rurikwō Nyorai shōsai jonan nenju giki (消災除難念誦儀軌, "Ceremonial rules for worshipping the Healing Buddha Vaidūrya-light, in order to extinguish calamity and remove difficulties"). According to the *Dayiten* (p 1751, 3) this work, consisting of one fasciculus, was translated by an unknown author, according to the *Himitsu jirin* (p 1061, 2), however, it is a work of Yih-hing (一行), a famous pupil of Śubhakarasiṃha (A.D. 637—735), who lived A.D. 687—727. The fourth *kalpa* dates from a much later time, for it was translated by the Tibetan Śramana Sha-lo-pa (沙羅巴, Nanjō App II 170), who lived A.D. 1259—1314.

The third of these *kalpas*, which are not found in the Chinese Canon, became the base of the mystic *Yakushi-hō* in Japan, on having been introduced by So-ichi (祚一), but we do not know when this priest lived. Before that time the rules of the *Aksobhya* ceremony were followed.¹

As seen above (§ 3, A, p. 543), Yakushi's *mudrā* is the *abhaya mudrā*, with the thumb slightly bent or, rarely, touching the middle finger. His other hand carries the medicine pot, or is sometimes making the *varada-mudrā* (hanging down with palm in front, as a sign of bestowing blessings upon the worshippers, *yogwan-in* or *yomangwan-in*, 與滿願印, "fulfilling wishes"). This is the shape of the *honzon* of the *Kondō* of Yakushiji and Tōji. As to that of *Hōkaiji* (法界寺) in Yamashiro province, this carries the medicine pot upon the *hōkaijō-in* (法界定印, "*mudrā* of the *samādhi* of the Dharma-world", the hands lying in the lap, with the fingers joined and the tips of the thumbs touching each other, the so-called *dhyāna mudrā*). Evidently the oldest form in Japan is that with the *abhaya* and *varada-mudrās* (*Kokkwa* No. 169, VII: *Hōryūji*, beginning of the seventh century; cf. 315, II; No. 166, VI: *Shin Yakushiji*, the bronze Kō-Yakushi, 7th century; No. 153, VII: *Yakushiji*, 7th century or beginning

¹ *Himitsu jirin*, p 1062, 2, s v *Yakushi shōsai giki*.

of the 8th; No. 159, VI: *Kōzanji*, Kyōto, *Tempyō* era, 8th century) The wooden *honzon* of *Shin Yakushiji*, however, also dating from the *Tempyō* era, bears the medicine pot in the left hand, which lies on the lap in *varada-mudrā*, whereas the right hand makes the *abhaya-mudrā*. The *dhyāna-mudrā* with the medicine pot is found in the *mandara*, reproduced in the *Kokkwa* No. 32, I (end Fujiwara, 12th century, described above, § 3, B, p 556), this appears to be a later form.

Chinese paintings represent him also as riding on an elephant, with a *khakkhara* (a staff with iron rings) in his right hand and an almsbowl in his left, whereas *Nikkō* is riding on a horse and *Gwakkō* on a goose ¹

Central-Asian pictures of his paradise show this Buddha seated in the centre, in an attitude of preaching, and surrounded by *Sūryaprabha*, *Candraprabha* (*Nikkō* and *Gwakkō*), his other Bodhisattvas (here we see ten of them instead of eight, and four priests) and the Twelve *Yakṣa* generals ²

In A.D. 843 (V 8) the mystic *Yakushi-hō* was preferred to the nightly *Yakushi-kekwa*. This ceremony took place during three days in the *Jōneiden* of the Palace, whereas the *Yakushikyō* was recited in the *Seiryōden* and the *Daihannyakyō* in the *Daigokuden*, in order to avert calamities predicted on account of strange apparitions in the Palace and an uncommon colour of the sun. ³

In A.D. 857 (Tenan 1, X 15) the two Shintō gods of *Ōarai-isosaki* and *Sakatsura-isosaki*, two temples at the coast of Hitachi province, ⁴ considered to be connected with the *Yakushi* cult,

¹ *Humitsu jirin*, p 1063, 1

² Sir Aurel Stein, *Serindia*, Pl LVI and LVII, Vol II, pp. 889 sq (Caves of the thousand Buddhas, Tun-hwang), cf. *Mission Pelliot en Asie Centrale*, Les Grottes de Touen-houang, I—IV. About his cult in Tibet (often represented with his eight attendant Buddhas, or forming a trinity with Amittābha and Śākyamuni, cf Grunwedel, *Mythologie*, p 118, fig. 93—96; Waddell, *Lamaism*

³ *Shoku Nihon kōki*, Ch XIII, p 337.

⁴ *Da Nihon chimei jisho*, III, pp. 3674 and 3703

got the title of *Yakushi Bosatsu myōjun* (名神). Evidently they were thus declared to be manifestations of Yakushi's two attendant Bodhisattvas, *Nikkō* and *Gwakkō*.¹

§ 7. *The Shichibutsu-Yakushi-hō or Ceremony of the Seven Healing Buddhas, performed by the mystic branch of the Tendai sect (9th—14th cent. A.D.).*

In A.D. 849 (X 10) the monks of *Yakushiji* presented 40 copies of the *Yakushikyō* to the Emperor Nimmō, on account of his 40th birthday; but five months later (A.D. 850, III 21) the *Shichibutsu Yakushi-hō* or "Rite of the Seven Healing Buddhas" (based upon Nanjō No 172) was practised in order to save his life, two days before his death. This ceremony took place in the *Seiryōden*, and pictures of the Seven Buddhas were hung in front of the Imperial *sudare* (bamboo-blind). In the court-yard and in the Southern court-yard of the *Shushūden* seven double rows of round lanterns (*rintō*, as used at the nocturnal *Yakushi* rites) were lighted. This is the first time we find this ceremony mentioned in the annals. Evidently it replaced the ancient *Yakushikekwa*.²

The great importance of the *Saishōe* of *Yakushiji*, held for the peace of the state from A.D. 830 to 1445 (cf. above, Ch. XI, § 8, B, p. 479) is clear evidence of the fact that the cult of *Yakushi Nyorai* and his *sūtra* gradually gave way to that of another Sun-Buddha, namely *Amida* (the *honzon* of this festival), and the *Saishōōkyō*. The latter *sūtra*, the *Yumakyō*, *Daihannya-kyō*, *Ninnōkyō*, *Hokkekyō* predominated in the latter half of the ninth century and in the tenth and following centuries, the *Kongō-hannyakyō* was often used in the ninth and sometimes in the tenth, the *Hannya-shinkyō* occasionally from the 9th to the 19th century, the *Kujaku-ō-kyō* and the *Shō-u-kyō* came into use in the middle

¹ *Nihon Montoku Tennō jitsuroku*, Ch. IX, p. 560.

² *Shoku Nihon kōki*, Ch. XIX, p. 420; Ch. XX, p. 431.

of the tenth (A.D. 948, V 16, VI 14, for rain), the *Nehangyō*, *Jumyōkyō* and *Kwannongyō* in the eleventh (especially against drought and pestilence). As to the *Yakushikyō*, this *sūtra* and the cult based upon it, once so powerful, in the ninth and tenth centuries for more than a hundred years were rarely mentioned, after which the mystic *Tendai* worship of the Seven Healing Buddhas brought new life to this cult.

In A.D. 956 (Tenryaku 10, V 11) the *Shichibutsu Yakushi-hō* was performed by the *Daisōjō* Ji-e (慈慧) of the mystic *Tendai* branch, assisted by six other priests, namely *Myōshō* (明請), an Amidaist of *Hieizan*,¹ who recited the magic formulae (咒, *ju*, *dhāraṇī*), *Kakunin*, who sang the hymns of praise (唄, *bai*), and four others. It lasted seven days and seven nights, and was intended to promote the prosperity of the *Kujō* family; it took place in the *Bōmon* pavilion (*Bōmontei*).²

In A.D. 1015 (Chōwa 4, V 1) the same ceremony was used in order to cure the Emperor Sanjō, who the following year abdicated on account of blindness. Thereupon (1016, V 1) this *Dajō* Tennō himself ascended *Tendaizan* (i. e. *Hieizan*), accompanied by the *Sesshō* (Regent), the great Fujiwara no Michinaga, the Left General Yorimichi (his eldest son) and all the other Court nobles, and on account of his eye-disease during seven days performed the *Shichudan mishiho* (七壇御修法, the "August Ceremony of the Seven Altars", i. e. the *Shichibutsu Yakushi-hō*).³

In A.D. 1020 (Kwannin 4, XII 14—20) Michinaga (called "the *Nyūdō*, the former *Dajō-daijūn*"), who on the 13th had ascended *Hieizan*, celebrated the *Shichibutsu Yakushi-hō* there for seven days, returning to the capital on the 21st.⁴ Some days previously

¹ Washio, p. 1082, 2, s v *Myōshō*.

² *Kakuzenshō*, 覺禪抄, also called *Hyak-kwanshō*, 百卷抄, written about A.D. 1250 by the *Shingon* priest *Kakuzen*, and quoted by the *Himitsu jirin*, p. 502, 1, s v *Shichibutsu Yakushi-hō*.

³ *Nihon kiriyaku, kōhen*, Ch. XII, p. 1098, Ch. XIII, p. 1104.

⁴ L.I., Ch. XIII, p. 1125.

he had presented a fief of 350 houses as a permanent gift to *Muryōju-in* (the Amitāyus temple in the compound of the *Tendai* sanctuary *Hōjōji*), dedicated by him that same year (III 22).¹ Apparently he had a great belief in the blessing power of these two Sun-Buddhas, Yakushi and Amitābha, the rising and the setting sun.

In A.D. 1024 (Manju 1, VI 26) in the compound of *Hōjōji* the same great statesman dedicated a new chapel, *Jōruri-in* ("Pure *Vaidūrya* Temple") to the Seven Yakushi, whose images were placed there together with those of the Six Kwannons. On this occasion an Imperial vegetarian entertainment was given to the monks, and the *Tendai zasu* Ingen (as *kōshi*) led the ceremony, which was attended by the Empress and the Kwampaku Yorimichi, Michinaga's eldest son and successor.²

Four years later, in A.D. 1028 (Chōgen 1, III 7), on the day of the beginning of the Vernal Imperial *Sūtra* reading (*Ki no mido(k)kyō*), Yorimichi entertained a thousand monks on *Hieiizan* and celebrated the *Yakushi-hō*.³

In A.D. 1142 (Kōji 1, V 12) the *Shichibutsu Yakushi-hō* was performed by the Court in the central chapel of *Enryakuji* on *Hieiizan*, again with an entertainment of a thousand monks,⁴ and it was also one of the numerous ceremonies, practised in A.D. 1281 against the dangerous invasion of the Mongols. The Emperor Go Uda himself led this rite, which took place in the same chapel of *Enryakuji*, he was assisted by the *Tendai zasu* Kōgō.⁵ Five years earlier (A.D. 1276, X 13—18, it must have been one day longer, for it always lasted seven days) the same Emperor and priest worshipped the Seven Healing Buddhas by means of this ceremony in the *Konoe-dono*, in order to pray for easy child-birth

¹ Cf. above, Ch. VIII, § 16, B, p. 342.

² *Nihon kiriyaku*, *kōhen*, Ch. XIII, p. 1134.

³ L I, Ch. XIV, p. 1147.

⁴ *Honchō seki*, *Kōji* 1, V, p. 411.

⁵ *Zoku Shigushō*, Ch. V, *Zoku Kokushi taikō* Vol. I, p. 146 (Kōan 4, VI 18).

on behalf of Shinyōmei-Monin, Kameyama Tennō's concubine.¹

There were seven altars, one before each of the Seven Buddhas, and seven *ajari* (*ācāryas*, professors)² led the rites (*Shichibutsu-ajari*.³ The *Masu-kagami* (増鏡, written A.D. 1340—1350) relates that an Imperial Prince, the *Tendai zasu Jidō*, 慈道, a well-known poet, who died in A.D. 1341,⁴ was the leader of the *Shichibutsu-Yakushi no hō*, which was celebrated at the same time as the mystic *Nyoirin-hō*, *Godampō*, *Ichiji-kunrin-bō*, *Nyohō-sonshō-hō* (Great Bear rite), *Nyohō-Butsugen-hō* (Buddha-eye rite), *Jundei* (*Cuṇṭī*) (*Kwannon*)-*hō*, etc.⁵ It did not belong to the rites of the *Tō-mitsu* (東密) or Mystic Sect of *Tōji* (the *Shingon* sect), but was a great ceremony of the *Taimitsu* (台密) (the mystic branch of the *Tendai* sect) for the increase of wealth (*zōyaku*, 増益), and arrest of calamity (*sokusai*, 息災), especially of disease; these aims were the same as those of the *Yakushi-hō*, practised by the *Shingon* sect. According to the *sūtra* those who wish to behold the Buddha and question him about good and evil must copy the text of the *sūtra* and make images of the Seven Buddhas and of the Bodhisattva *Vajradhara* or *Vajrapāṇi* (執金剛, *Shūkongō*, or 金剛手, *Kongoshu*, or 持金剛, *Jikongō*, "He who grasps or holds the *vajra*", or "Vajra-hand", a general term of the *Shingon* sect for the *vajra*-bearing Bodhisattvas of the *Taijōkai*.⁶ A relic of the Buddha (*Busshari*) had to be placed in all these images, and before them sacrifice made and worship offered with a benevolent heart. Having received the eight commandments (and fasted), the worshippers must purify themselves by bathing and changing their attire three times a day, from the 8th to the 15th of the month. If they then recite the magic formulae 108 times daily with a

¹ L1, Ch IV, Kenji 2, pp. 113 sq.

² Cf. Kern, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 84.

³ *Dayiten*, p. 742, 1, s.v. *Shichibutsu-ajari*.

⁴ Washio, p. 429, 2

⁵ *Masu-kagami*, *Kokushu taikō* Vol. XVII, Ch. xviii, p. 1211.

⁶ *Himitsu jurin*, p. 444, *Dayiten*, p. 754, 3, s.v. *Shūkongō*.

concentrated and calm mind, according to his own words in the *sūtra* the Buddha will manifest himself in their dreams, explain to them what they have asked, and cause all their wishes to be fulfilled

The rites are about the same as those of the *Yakushi-hō*; as to the images, the central figure is *Yakushi Nyorai*, with his right hand raised, palm in front (*abhaya-mudra*, *mu-i-in*, 無畏印, bestowing fearlessness) and holding the medicine pot in his left, with three other Buddhas above, and three below him.¹ The *Humitsu jirin* remarks, that *Yakushi* and *Shaka* are the only Buddhas who carry vessels (almsbowl and medicine pot).²

In A.D. 1598 (Keichō 3, IX 20), when the Emperor Go Yōzei was ill, a *Shuchiyo Yakushi mōde* (七所薬師詣) or "visitation of the Yakushi's of seven places" was performed by the ministers, whereas the *Daisōjō* Gyōjo, probably a priest of the *Shingon* sect or of the mystic *Tendai* doctrine, led the *goma* (*homa*) ceremony in the *Shishinden*.³ This may have been the *Yakushi-goma*, a mystic rite in worship of the Seven Healing Buddhas, mentioned in the *Bukkyō daijiten* (p. 1752, 1, s v), the *Yakushikō* (講), "Discourse upon Yakushi", (ibid.) was a ceremony for worshipping Yakushi Nyorai alone.

We do not afterwards read about the mystic cult of the Seven Healing Buddhas nor of the public worship of the main figure; but, as seen above, in A.D. 1713, when Terajima Ryōan wrote the *Wakan sansai zue*, many temples and chapels were still devoted to his cult, and we may be sure that this is still the case at the present day.

¹ *Humitsu jirin*, pp 501 sq, s v. *Shuchibutsu Yakushi-hō*.

² *Humitsu jirin*, p 1063, 2, s.v. *Yakushi Nyorai*

³ *Zoku Shigushō*, Ch 11, Go Yōzei, Keichō 3, *Zoku Kokushi taikēi*, Vol. II, p 685.

CHAPTER XV.

THE KEGON, NEHAN AND YUIMAKYŌ (AVATAMSAKA,
NIRVĀNA AND VIMALAKĪRTI SŪTRAS) AND THEIR
FESTIVALS THE BOMMŌKYŌ (BRAHMAJĀLA-SŪTRA).
THE ISSAIKYŌ (DAIZŌKYŌ, THE WHOLE CANON)
AND ITS FESTIVALS

§ 1. *The sūtras copied in A.D. 722 (XI 19) on behalf of the
Empress Gemmei's soul, and the Bommōkyō (Brahmajāla-sūtra,
Nanjō No. 1087).*

In A.D. 722 (Yōrō 6, XI 19) the Empress Genshō (A.D. 715 IX 2—
724 II 4) issued an Imperial Ordinance to the effect that several
sūtras had to be respectfully copied on behalf of the soul of
the *Dajō Tennō*, i.e. of her mother, the Empress Gemmei, who
acquired this title after having abdicated in A.D. 714 in favour
of her daughter, and who died in A.D. 721 (XII 7). The Empress
gave this order because of the approaching first anniversary of
her mother's death, for in the same edict she stated that on that
date (A.D. 722, XII 7) a vegetarian entertainment should be given
to the priests and nuns of all Buddhist temples in the Capital
and Home provinces, 2638 persons in all (a *shūki gosaie*). For
the same occasion 8 baptismal flags had to be made, a thousand
altar flags, 36 (4×9) lacquer tables, covered with ivory, 168
(3×7×8) copper bowls, and 82 (probably 84, i.e. 4×3×7)
boxes of willow wood.

The sūtras to be copied were:

1. *Kegonkyō* (花嚴經), *Avatamsaka-sūtra* (*Gaṇḍa-vyūha*) (Nanjō No 88). 80 fasc

2. *Daishūkyō* (大集經), *Mahāsannipata-sūtra* (Nanjō No. 61). 60 fasc

3. *Nehangyō* (涅槃經), *Parinirvāna-sūtra* (Nanjō No. 113): 40 fasc

4. *Dai-Bosatsu-zōkyō* (大菩薩藏經), *Bodhisattva-pitaka-sūtra* (Nanjō No 1103) 20 fasc

5. *Kwanzeongyō* (觀世音經), *Avalokiteśvara sūtra*, i. e Ch. 25 of the *Lotus sūtra* (Nanjō No 137)· 200 fasc.¹

The *Daishūkyō* (Nanjō No. 61) (30 fasc.) is only mentioned again in A.D. 745 (Tempyō 17, V 8), when it was read for 3×7 days in the four great temples of Nara, the *Sanron* shrines *Gwangōji* and *Daijūji*, and the *Hossō* sanctuaries *Yakushiji* and *Kōfukujī*; at the same time *gohei* were sent to the Shintō temples of all provinces, because it had not rained since the fourth month and the crops did not grow.²

As to the *Dai-Bosatsu-zōkyō* (Nanjō No. 1103), this was Sañghapāla's translation of the *sūtra*, dealt with above in the Chapter on the Rites of Repentance (Ch. VIII, § 3, p. 258) We did not find it mentioned elsewhere in the annals. As it is a short text of only eleven leaves, the 20 fasciculi copied in A.D. 722 were 20 full copies.

The *Kwanzeongyō* (cf. above, Ch I, § 11) will be treated below in Ch. XVI, seeing it is Ch. 25 of the *Hokkekyō* (Ch. 24 in Kern's translation).

Here we may add the *Bommyōkyō* (梵網經), *Brahmajāla-sūtra*, Nanjō No. 1087, translated by Kumārajīva in A.D. 406 (2 fasc). In the preface his disciple Sāng-chao (僧肇, App III 2) states that it is the tenth chapter of a Sanskrit work on the *Bodhisattva hrdayabhūmi*, consisting of 120 fasc., 61 chapters. It belongs to the *Vinaya* of the *Mahāyāna*, and is translated as

¹ *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. ix, p. 141.

² *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. xvi, p. 259.

"*Code du Mahāyāna en Chine*" by Prof. de Groot.¹ The first part deals with the qualities (hearts) of the Bodhisattvas and with their ten stages of perfection (*daśabhūmi*), preached by Locana Buddha; the second part gives the ten commandments (*pratimokṣas*) of the Bodhisattvas and the 48 secondary commandments of all the "sons of Buddha", preached by Śākyamuni.²

In A.D. 757 (Tempyō hōji 1, I 5) the Empress Kōken issued an ordinance concerning this *sūtra*, which she ordered to be expounded from IV 15 to V 2 in all provinces. The Retreat (*ango*) was to begin on the following day (V 3).³ The *Genkō Shakusho* calls this *kokki* (國忌, usually pronounced *koki*), "national mourning", for the preceding Emperor, in this case Shōmu Tennō, who died in A.D. 756, V 2; in the 12th month of that year the Empress requested 62 priests to expound the *Bommōkyō* on behalf of the soul of the deceased Emperor. On the anniversary of his death 1500 monks were entertained in *Tōdaiji*. The *Genkō Shakusho* says too that this *sūtra* was expounded in anticipation of the Retreat.⁴

In A.D. 761 (VI) her successor Junnin ordered the *Bommōkyō* to be explained on every anniversary of the death of the Empress Dowager, on whose behalf he built *Jōdo-in* in the S.W. corner of the compound of *Hokkeji*, dedicating to this shrine an *Amida* image, 16 feet high. Vegetarian entertainments were given in all the provincial state nunneries (*kokubun-nyū*), and 400 acres of rice land were presented to *Yamashina-dera* (*Kōfukuyū*).⁵

The priests, mentioned in connection with the *Bommōkyō*,

¹ De Groot, *Le Code du Mahāyāna en Chine, son influence sur la vie monacale et sur le monde laïque*, Verh. Kon. Akad. v. Wetenschappen te Amsterdam, Afd. Letterkunde, I, 2, 1893.

² Among the commentaries on this text, enumerated in the *Dayū*, III, p. 4234, 3, s.v. *Bommōkyō*, is a *kaidai* by Kōbō-Daishi.

³ *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. xx, p. 319.

⁴ *Genkō Shakusho*, Ch. xxii, p. 1024.

⁵ *Genkō Shakusho*, Ch. xxii, p. 1026, cf. *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. xxiii, p. 391.

belong to the following sects: *Kairitsu*, *Hossō*, *Kegon*, *Shingon* and *Shingi-Shingon*.

The *Kairitsu* priest Dōsen (道璿) of *Daianji*, who died in A.D. 760, wrote a commentary (疏) of three *kwan* on this *sūtra*, and also expounded it orally.¹ The *Hossō* priest Hyōbi (平備) (time?) was also a commentator of this text.²

Before A.D. 1205 the *Kegon* priest Kōben (高辨) (A.D. 1163—1222),³ and in A.D. 1249 and 1312 the *Kairitsu* priests Zenkwan and Jōsen (禪觀, 定泉) preached on the *Bommōkyō* and explained it.⁴ They "expounded the *koseki* (古迹, ancient traces, remains) of the *Bommōkyō*" This expression seems to point to the fact that this *sūtra* was only the 10th chapter of an ancient Sanskrit work of 120 fasciculi. Another *Kairitsu* expositor of this *sūtra* was Shinkū (信空) (A.D. 1231—1316), who in A.D. 1242, when a boy of eleven years, became a pupil of the Bodhisattva Kōshō (興正) when the latter came to the house of his parents and preached on the *Bommōkyō*. Afterwards, in A.D. 1290, he himself gave the commandments to the Emperor Go-Uda, and performed a *Bommō-fusatsu* (布薩) (*Upasatha*) in the Palace. The Emperor was so pleased, that he made the *kokubunji* of all the provinces dependent shrines (*shū-in*, 子院) of *Saidaiji* (西大寺), the *Kairitsu* sanctuary in Nara, which had that year come under Shinkū's direction.⁵

In A.D. 1642 the *Kairitsu* priest Nyoshū (如周) (A.D. 1594—1647) was called to the Palace and performed the *Nyohōkyō* ceremony on behalf of the soul of the former Emperor. He also expounded the *Bommōkyō*, and thenceforth his monthly discourses in the Palace dealt with the Lotus and other *sūtras*.⁶

¹ Washio, p. 881, 1, s.v. *Dōsen*.

² Washio, p. 1023, 2, s.v. *Hyōbi*.

³ Washio, p. 371, 1, s.v. *Kōben*.

⁴ Washio, p. 713, 1, 653, 2, s.v. *Zenkwan and Jōsen*.

⁵ Washio, pp. 446 sq., s.v. *Shinkū*.

⁶ Washio, p. 1008, 1, s.v. *Nyoshū*. As to the *Nyohōkyō* cf. above, Ch VIII, § 18 E, pp. 373 sqq.

The following *Shingon* priests paid much attention to the *Bom-myōkyō*. Tsūgen (通玄) († 1731), who wrote three works thereon;¹ Jōgon (淨嚴) (A.D. 1639—1702), who in A.D. 1678 (VII) by his preaching on this *sūtra* in a village temple in Izumi province led 500 persons to accept the “great commandments”,² and the *Shingi-Shingon* monk Kwaison (快存) (A.D. 1647—1724), who in A.D. 1683 in Kazusa and Shimōsa provinces expounded the *Bommōkyō* and the *Ninnōkyō*.³ These facts indicate the importance attached to the *Brahmajāla-sūtra* by some of the *Shingon* priests of the 17th and 18th centuries.

§ 2. *The Kegonkyō and the Kegon-e (the Avatamsaka-sūtra, Nanjō No. 88, and its festival).*

A. *The Kegonkyō.*

The first text mentioned in A.D. 722 is the second translation of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-mahāvaiṣṭhī-sūtra* (Nanjō No. 88), made by Śikṣhānanda in A.D. 695—699, the number of the fasciculi (eighty) indicates that it was this version and not the older one, which consists of sixty fasciculi (No. 87, translated by Buddhābhadda and others in A.D. 418).⁴ The term “Seven places and eight assemblies”, *Shichijō hachi-e* (七處八會), refers to the fact that the Buddha delivered this sermon at eight assemblies, held in seven different places, as we learn from Nanjō sub No. 87.

No. 89, entitled “Chapter on the practice and prayer of the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra, in the *Mahāvaiṣṭhī-buddhāvataṃ-*

¹ Washio, p. 831, 1, s.v. *Tsūgen*

² Washio, p. 665, 1, s.v. *Jōgon*

³ Washio, p. 241, 1, s.v. *Kwaison*

⁴ Cf. *Kokkwa* No. 376, II, the 15th of the 55 places of *Zenzai dōji*'s pilgrimage, described in Fasc. 49, Ch. 34, 5, 入法界品 of the *Kegonkyō* of 60 fasciculi, and similar makimono's in *Todayi*. Probably the former picture (in colours on silk) belongs to the Kamakura period (A.D. 1192—1333)

saka-sūtra", is "a later and fuller translation, made by Prajña in A.D. 796—798 of a text similar to that of the last chapter of Nos. 87 and 88"; it consists of forty fasciculi, and the three works are generally designated by these numbers as the "*Kegonkyō* of sixty, eighty and forty (fasciculi)".

The *Hwa-yen* (*Kegon*) school arose in China in the 6th and 7th centuries of our era, and was introduced into Japan by Ryōben (良辨, A.D. 689—773), who in A.D. 728 founded its central sanctuary, *Tōdaiji* at Nara. After flourishing for more than a thousand years, at the present time it has only about twenty temples. In China it is called *Hien sheu tsung* (賢首宗) after the posthumous name of its third patriarch, *Fah-tsang*, 法藏, who died in A.D. 712. This priest wrote four commentaries on the *Kegonkyō* (Nanjō Nos. 1591—1593 and 1595). The fourth patriarch, Ch'ing-kwan (澄觀), who died at the beginning of the ninth century, composed two enormous commentaries upon it, Nanjō Nos. 1589 and 1590, consisting of 60 and 90 fasciculi, and Nanjō Nos. 1598 and 1639. Tsung-mih (宗密), the fifth patriarch (A.D. 779—840), the "Great Teacher of the Kwéi peak" (圭峰大師, Nanjō App. III 38), published the text of No. 1596, composed by the founder of the school, Tu Fah-shun (杜法順, App. III 16, who lived A.D. 557—640). In about A.D. 700 Hwui-wen (慧苑, Eon, App. III 32) compiled a dictionary of this *sūtra*, entitled *Hwa-yen-king yin-i* (*Kegonkyō ongi*, 華嚴經音義, "sound and meaning of the *Kegonkyō*", generally quoted as *Eon ongi*; 4 fasc., Nanjō No. 1606). Even in the Yuen dynasty (A.D. 1280—1368) a priest, called P'u-shui (普瑞), wrote an extensive commentary of 40 fasciculi on this *sūtra* (No. 1622), which indicates its great importance for many centuries in China.¹

In A.D. 749 (intercalary V 20), three days before his abdication and retirement to *Yakushiji*, the Emperor Shōmu, calling himself "Dajō Tennō, *śrāmaṇera* (*shami*) Shōman (勝滿), made offerings

¹ Cf. *Dayu*, I, pp. 1004 sqq.; *Dayuten*, pp. 383 sqq.

of silk, cotton, rice and rice-fields to 12 Buddhist temples (*Daianji, Yakushiji, Gwangōji, Kōfukuji, Tōdaiji, Hōryūji, Gufukuji, Shitennōji, Sufukuji* (崇福寺), *Kaguyama Yakushiji, Konkōji* (建興寺) and *Hokkeji*)¹ and issued an Ordinance stating that, considering the *Kegonkyō* as the principal *sūtra*, all the *sūtras*, vinayas, abhidharmas, treatises and commentaries must of necessity be read by means of the *tendoku* system and explained in future for days and months; that he therefore now made these offerings to the temples. He hoped that the Buddhas would protect him, give him long live and fulfill all his wishes, and that they would cause the Law to remain a long time in this world, save all living beings, give great peace to the empire, joy to the people, and ultimate Buddhahood to all sentient beings of the Dharma world.²

In A.D. 804 (17) in Kwammu Tennō's ordinance regarding the rivalry between the high-priests (whom he even calls Bodhisattvas!) of the *Sanron* and *Hossō* sects, mentioned above (Book II, Ch. XI, § 7 F, p. 469), he ordered students of both sects to study the *sūtras* and abhidharmas and their meaning thoroughly, and especially the *Hokke, Saishō, Kegon* and *Nehan sūtras*.³

Afterwards we do not read any more about this text in the annals, but whenever we hear of *sūtra* reading in *Tōdaiji* we may be sure that this principal text of the *Kegon* sect is meant. Yet in later times the *Daihannyakyō* was especially mentioned as having been read there, e.g. in A.D. 961 (Ōwa 1, VI 15), when a serious drought prevailed and that text was chosen to be used in praying for rain by 180 priests of the Seven Great Temples of Nara, who were requested to recite it there for 19 days.⁴

¹ The 12 Great Temples; *Kaguyama Yakushiji* must be *Shin Yakushiji*, and *Konkōji* is mentioned here instead of *Sauryūji*, the last of the twelve enumerated in the *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. xxxi, p. 548, and in the *Genkō Shakusho*, Ch. xxiii, p. 1031 (A.D. 771)

² *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. xvii, pp. 285 sqq.

³ *Nihon kōki*, Ch. xii, p. 32.

⁴ *Nihon kiryaku kōhen*, Ch. iv, p. 887.

For the same reason in A.D. 991 (Shōryaku 2, VI 13) 600 priests of those temples performed *tendoku* of the *Daihannyakyō* in *Tōdaiji*.¹ And in A.D. 1022 (Chian 2, VI 4), when the Emperor Go Ichijō was ill, the *Daihannyakyō* and the *Hokkekyō*, not the *Kegonkyō*, were the texts used in the Palace, *Tōdaiji* and *Kōfukuji*, in order to cause his recovery.² In A.D. 1145 (Kyūan 1, V 8) the evil omen of the appearance of a comet was averted by the recital of the *Kwannongyō*, performed by a thousand priests in *Tōdaiji* and *Enryakuji*.³ These facts show that in those days even in the central sanctuary of the *Kegon* sect the protective power of the *Daihannyakyō*, *Hokkekyō* and *Kwannongyō* was invoked instead of that of the *Kegonkyō*. Yet there was a *Kegon-e* of *Tōdaiji*, a yearly festival devoted to the expounding of this *sūtra* (see below, § 2, C).

§ 2, B. *Japanese priests who studied and expounded the Kegonkyō.*

About A.D. 748 the *Hossō* priest Gonchi (嚴智), a monk of *Gwangōji* in Nara, completed his detailed study of the sixty fasciculi of the *Kegonkyō* (No. 87, the older version of A.D. 418).⁴

Another priest of the *Tempyō* era (A.D. 729–749), whose sect is not given, the hermit Saba no Okina (鯖翁) of Nara, was also a fervent reader of the *Kegonkyō*, but of the later translation by Śikhānanda (No. 88), for it is said that he always carried 80 mackerels on his shoulders (*saba*, hence his name “The Old Man of the Mackerels”), thus representing the 80 fasciculi of the *Kegonkyō*!⁵

¹ L I, Ch IX, p. 1010

² L.I., Ch. XIII, p. 1130.

³ *Honchō seki*, Kyūan, 1, V, p. 505.

⁴ Washio, p. 389, 1, s.v. *Gonchi*.

⁵ Washio, p. 406, 2, s.v. *Saba no Okina*.

The *Kojidan* (古事談, written A.D. 1210—1220) and the *Uji shūi monogatari* (宇治拾遺物語, written A.D. 1213—1218) relate the story of this old man, who sold mackerels and lived at the time when *Tōdaiji* was erected (A.D. 728). The Emperor (Shōmu) summoned him and appointed him *kōshu* of the Great Meeting, held in the new sanctuary (the *Kegon-e* of III 14). He laid his 80 mackerels on the *sūtra* desk, whereupon they changed into the *Kegonkyō* of 80 fasciculi.¹ Then the old man ascended the pulpit (*kōza*), erected in front of the Buddha, and explained the text, rapidly uttering ("twittering") Sanskrit sounds between his explanations. In the midst of meeting, while standing on the pulpit, he suddenly disappeared.¹ The pole by means of which he had carried his mackerels and which he had placed in front of the corridor, suddenly became a tree with twigs and leaves. This is the so-called "White body tree" (*shuromi-gi*). Borrowing this tale from an older work, the *Korōden* (古老傳), the *Kojidan* adds that it was the custom that the *kōshu* of the Great Meeting of *Tōdaiji*, the *Kegon-e* of III 14, after having ascended the pulpit, erected in front of the Buddha, explained the *Kegonkyō*, but that in the midst of the meeting he descended, left the hall through the backdoor, and disappeared (*chikuden*, 逐電). As to the tree, this was burnt down on the occasion of a fire.²

In A.D. 740 (Tempyō 12) the *Hossō* priest Jikun (慈訓) of *Kōfukuji* (died in A.D. 777), together with the *Kegon* priest Kyōnin (鏡忍), a high-priest of *Tōdaiji*, and the *Kairitsu* priest Enshō (圓證) of *Shōdaiji* assisted Shinshō (審祥) (a Korean monk from Shiragi, who had taught him the *Kegon* doctrine and caused him to enter this sect) in expounding the *Kegonkyō*. This was the first time Shinshō acted as *kōshu* of the *Kegon-e* of *Tōdaiji*.

¹ This is a typical feature of the Arhat tales, cf. the present writer's treatise on the *Arhats in China and Japan*, Ch. iv.

² *Kojidan*, *Kokushū taikē* Vol. XV, Ch. III, p. 60, *Uji shūi monogatari*, *Kokushū taikē* Vol. XVII, Ch. VIII, p. 169.

Four years later Jikun succeeded his teacher in this function and was assisted by the same monks. The text was that of the 80 fasciculi, and they were appointed by the Emperor.¹

The nun Shari (金利, *śarīra*, relic), born in A.D. 750, was said to have read the *Kegon* and the *Hokkekyō* on her seventh year(!), afterwards she held a great meeting of monks and nuns, after having requested the *Kegon* priest Kaimyō (戒明) of *Daianji* to expound the *Kegonkyō*, moreover she herself explained its deep meaning to the crowd. She was so much revered by her contemporaries that they called her *Shari Bosatsu*.²

The *Hossō* priest Myōtetsu (明哲), who in A.D. 860 (I 8) was appointed *kōshu* of the *Saishōe*, used to explain the *Kegonkyō* in his monastery, *Yakushiji* in Yamato.³

In A.D. 980 the great *Shingon* priest Kwanchō (寛朝, A.D. 936—998), who was highly honoured by the Emperors Enyū and Kwazan, was the *kōshu* of the *Kegon-e* of *Tōdaiji*, and in A.D. 1202 another *Shingon* priest, Seihō (Jōhō) (成寶, A.D. 1159—1227) held the same function.⁴

The *Tendai* priest Jakushun (寂俊, A.D. 1035—1121), of Hieiizan combined the copying of the *Kegonkyō* with the recital of *nembutsu*, prayers to Amida.⁵

In A.D. 1417 the *Kegon* priest Shigyoku (志玉, 1383—1463) went to China and was invited by the Ming Emperor Ch'eng-tsu to the Palace in order to expound the *Kegonkyō*; he was rewarded with the title of *Fuchi-kokushi* (普一國師, "General Priest of the State"). After five years he returned to Japan, where he expounded the *sūtra* in the Great Hall of *Tōdaiji* and received

¹ Washio, pp 421 sq, s.v. *Jikun*, p 184, 1, s.v. *Kyōnin*, where the place of the meeting is called *Konshō dōjō*, 金鍾道場, i.e. *Konshōji*, the well-known shrine of *Tōdaiji*, erected in A.D. 733 (*Konkōmyōji*).

² Washio, p 485, 1, s.v. *Shari*.

³ Washio, p 1085, 1, s.v. *Myōketsu*.

⁴ Washio, p 260, 1, s.v. *Kwanchō*, *Himitsu jirin*, p 640, 1, s.v. *Seihō*.

⁵ Washio, p 486, 2, s.v. *Jakushun*.

also from the Japanese Emperor Shōkwō the title of *Kokushi*. Thereupon he successively acted as explainer of the *sūtra* in *Gokurakuji*, *Shōmyōji* and *Amida-ji*, Amida shrines in Sagami province, in *Daikegonji* in Kaga, and in *Kōzanji* at Kyōto. Then this zealous propagator of the *Kegonkyō* travelled about in the Western provinces, always working for the same purpose, the conversion of the people to his doctrine.¹

At the same time the *Kegon* priest Nyogen (如玄) founded *Shōkaiji* in Harima province and expounded the *Kegonkyō* there.²

We gather from these facts that in the eighth century in addition to the *Kegon* sect the *Hossō* priests attached great importance to this *sūtra*. *Shingon* priests sometimes acted as leaders of the *Kegon-e* of *Tōdaiji*; some *Tendai* monks paid special attention to it. In the beginning of the fifteenth century a new activity of the *Kegon* sect was noticeable.

§ 2, C. The *Kegon-e* or *Avatamsaka* festival.

In the preceding paragraph the *Kegon*-festival of *Tōdaiji*, celebrated yearly in *Tōdaiji* on the fourteenth of the third month, was mentioned in connection with the "Old Man of the Mackerels" and the erection of the temple in A.D. 728. According to another tale³ a happy omen appeared to a *tokushū* or "reading master" on the day of the "opening of the eyes" (*kaigen*) of the *Daibutsu* in the third month of Tempyō Shōhō 4 (A.D. 752), but according to the *Shoku Nihongi*⁴ this ceremony took place on the ninth of the fourth month. It is also said that the *Kegon-e* of III 14 dates from A.D. 744 (Tempyō 16), when in the tenth month the Emperor Shōmu ordered a special sacrificial ceremony to be held

¹ Washio, p. 412, 1, s.v. *Shigyoku*.

² Washio, p. 1006, 2, s.v. *Nyogen*.

³ *Daijū*, I, p. 1004, 2, s.v. *Kegon-e*.

⁴ *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. xviii, p. 299.

in this temple in connection with the "*chishiki kegon*" (智識華嚴). Yet the words of a votive text (*gwammon*) of the *Kego-e* indicate the year A.D. 820 (Kōnin 11) as the time when this festival was instituted by the Emperor Saga, after the 80 fasciculi of the *sūtra* had been copied. The biography of the *Hossō* priest Jikun, however, referred to above (§ 2, B), is clear evidence of the fact that as early as A.D. 740 the Korean *Kego* priest Shinshō acted as *Kōshi* of the *Kego-e*, and that he was assisted by a *Hossō*, a *Kego*, and a *Kairitsu* priest.

The *Kego-e* of *Tōdaiji* was a very pompous festival, celebrated by 180 officiating priests (*shikushu* 色衆, 職衆), appointed by the Emperor, with officials as musicians. The *Daijū* enumerates the following tasks of 131 monks: one *zenten* (前轉) and one *goten* (復轉) (this *ten*, "turning", must be the *tendoku* of the *sūtra*; the terms are not explained in the dictionaries); two *indō* (引頭) (leaders); two had the task of singing the hymns of praise (*bai*, 唄), two of scattering flowers (*sange*, 散花), two of sprinkling water (*buntokusui*, 分得水). Forty priests had to invoke the Buddhas and to sing hymns of praise (this may be the meaning of the term *nōkō*, 納甲, not given in the dictionaries; *nōmo*, 納慕, is *namo*, the same as *namu*, 南無, Sanskrit *namaḥ*, the term of invocation,¹ and *kōsan*, 甲讚, is singing hymns of praise).² Forty others sang the *bon-on* (梵音, hymns accompanying the scattering of flowers, whereas the *bombai*, 梵唄, were sung after the burning of incense at the beginning of the ceremonies,³ and forty-one carried and shook the *shakujō* (錫杖, magical staffs with metal rings) while singing the *khakkhara gāthā* (*shakujō-ge*, 錫杖偈). The task of the 49 other monks is not mentioned, which seems to indicate some mistake or omission in the list.⁴

Daijiten, p. 1299, 1, s.v. *nōmo*.

² *Daijiten*, p. 204, 1, s.v. *kōsan*.

³ *Daijiten*, p. 1634, 1, 2, s.v. *bon-on*.

⁴ *Daijū*, I, p. 1004, 2, s.v. *Kego-e*.

In A.D. 1176 (Angen 2, VII), after the death of Kenshun-Monin (建春門院, consort of the Emperor Go Shirakawa, and mother of Takakura Tennō) the ceremony was abbreviated, and in A.D. 1192 (Kenkyū 3), when Go Shirakawa Tennō had died, it was still further simplified, and thenceforth the so-called *ranjō* (亂聲, "confused sounds") and *kembu* (建舞, dances) were omitted. In A.D. 1212 (Kenryaku 2), however, at the time of the *Bettō Jōken* (成賢, a *Shingon* priest, *zasu* of *Daigoji*, who belonged to the Fujiwara family; he lived A.D. 1162—1231, and became head of *Tōji* in A.D. 1210),¹ the festival was celebrated in a magnificent way, with boys' dances (*dōbu*, 童舞) and rites for lengthening life (*ennen*, 延年).² In A.D. 980 and 1202 two other *Shingon* priests, Kwanchō and Jōhō, mentioned in the preceding paragraph, were leaders of the *Kegon-e* of *Tōdayū*. In the 13th century the *Uji shūi monogatari* (written A.D. 1213—1218) also speaks of this festival as a great ceremony celebrated regularly in the *Daibutsuden* of *Tōdayū*.³

§ 3. *The Nehangyō (Nanjō No. 113) and the Nehan-e or Nehankō (Nirvāṇa sūtra and festival)*

A. *The Nirvāṇa sūtra.*

In Nanjō's Catalogue the Nirvāṇa class of *sūtras* is the fifth of Part I, the *Sūtras* of the *Mahāyāna*. It contains Nos. 113—125, although Nos. 118 and 119 belong to the *Hīnayāna*. The same *Hīnayāna* text has been the subject of the four following translations, found in the Canon.

¹ Washio, p. 674, 2, s.v. *Jōken*, author of the *Honzōshi* and *Sahōshū*, cf. above Ch. IV, § 12, p. 110.

² *Dayu*, I.1

³ *Kokushū taikō* Vol. XVII, Ch. VIII, p. 169.

No. 552	佛般泥洹經	Poh Fah-tsu	A D. 290—306
No. 119	佛說方等泥洹經	transl name lost	A.D. 317—420
No. 545(2)	Dirghāgama sūtra	Buddhayaśas	A D. 412—413
No 118	大般涅槃經	Fah-hien	A D. 414—420

The *Mahāyāna sūtras* are represented by the following translations, the two former of which are renderings of the *Catur-dāraka-samādhi-sūtra*, whereas No 120 is an incomplete translation of the same text as Nos. 113 and 114, the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*.

No 116	佛說方等般泥洹經	Dharmaraksha I	A.D. 266—316
No. 121	四童子三昧經	Jñānagupta	A D. 585—592
No. 120	大般泥洹經	Fah-hien	A D. 414—420
No. 113	大般涅槃經 (N).	Dharmaraksha II	A.D 423
No. 114	南本大般涅槃經 (S).	Hwui-yen c.s.	A D. 424—453

No. 114, the "Southern Book", a revision of No. 113, made in the "Southern Capital", Nanking, although explained by Kwan-ting (灌頂) (A.D 561—632, the fifth patriarch of the *T'ien-t'ai* school; Nos 1544 and 1545), has never become popular in Japan, where all sects use the so-called "Northern Book", No 113. This is the text indicated by means of the abbreviated term "*Nehangyō*" or "*Nehankyō*".

The *Hīnayāna* text deals with the Buddha's *Nirvāṇa* as an actual fact, the end of the *keshinbutsu* or *Nirmāṇakāya*; the *Mahāyānists*, however, lay stress upon the eternity of the Buddha's

body notwithstanding the appearance of his having entered the state of extinction.¹

The following are commentaries on No. 114 (Nanjō says 113 and 114): No. 1206, by Vasubandhu, translated by Dharmabodhi under the Eastern Wei dynasty, A.D. 534—550; No. 1544, Kwan-ting's "Hidden meaning" (玄義) of this *sūtra*, 2 fasc.; No. 1545, the same author's "Commentary", 疏, on this *sūtra*, 33 fasc., revised by Chan-jan, 湛然, the ninth patriarch of the T'ien-t'ai school, who lived A.D. 711—782; and No. 1546 (Chi-yuen's commentary on No. 1544, written A.D. 1014).

At the time of the Liang dynasty (A.D. 502—557), in the eighth year of the T'ien-kien era (A.D. 509), the Emperor Wu Ti ordered the priest Pao-liang (寶亮) and others to compile a great many commentaries on the Southern text, and the Emperor himself wrote a preface to this work, which is entitled *Nehangyō shūge* (涅槃經集解).

The Northern text was explained by Hwui-Yuen (慧遠, Eon) of the Sui dynasty (A.D. 581—618), who also gave the older commentaries of learned priests; from olden times this work was highly appreciated by the Buddhist scholars.²

The *Nirvāṇa sūtra* belonged to the principal texts of the T'ien-t'ai school, as well as the Lotus *sūtra* and the *Mahāprajñā-pāramitā-śāstra* (Nanjō No. 1196, 大智度論, *Daichidoron*, translated A.D. 402—405 by Kumārajīva);³ hence the important T'ien-t'ai commentaries mentioned above.

In China a special sect, the "Nirvāṇa sect" (涅槃宗, *Nieh-p'an-tsung*, *Nehanshū*), was one of the of thirteen Buddhist sects of the country. Based on the *Nirvāṇa-sūtra* of *Mahāyāna*, it preached the eternity of the Buddha nature (佛性常住), and flourished exceedingly from the fifth century to the seventh; then it joined the ever increasing T'ien-t'ai sect (which combined

¹ *Dayiten*, p. 1373, 2, s.v. *Nehankyō*.

² *Dayu*, III, pp. 3758 sq., as to the *sūtra* cf. *Dayu*, III, pp. 3205 sqq.

³ Fujishima Ryō-on, *Le Bouddhisme Japonais*, Paris 1889, p. 69.

the *Nirvāṇa sūtra* with the *Lotus sūtra*), and ceased to exist as a separate sect. In Japan this sect, also called *Jō-shutara-shū* (常修多羅宗, "Perpetual *Sūtra* sect"), was propagated by expounding the *Nirvāṇa sūtra* in the *Shingon-in* of the *Sanron* sanctuary *Daianji* at Nara. The word *jō*, "perpetual", points to the eternity of *Nirvāṇa*, i.e. of the Buddha's absolute nature.¹

§ 3, B. *The Nehangyō, Nehan-e and Nehankō in Japan*
(from the eighth century to the present day).

Except in A.D. 722 (XI 19), when, as seen above (§ 1, p. 576) the Northern text of 40 fasciculi (Nanjō No. 113) was copied by order of the Empress Genshō on behalf of the soul of her mother, the Empress Gemmei, who died the previous year, this *sūtra* is not mentioned in the annals until A.D. 804 (I 7). Then the Emperor Kwammu ordered the *Hossō* and *Sanron* monks to study the *Hokkekyō*, *Saishōkyō*, *Kegonkyō* and *Nehangyō*.²

In A.D. 853 (IX 9), on the occasion of the death of the *Hossō* priest Enshō Sōjō (延祥) (A.D. 766—853), it is stated among various details of his life that he heard the *Hossō* priest Gomyō (護命) expound the *Nehangyō* in *Kasuga-dera* (the famous *Hossō* sanctuary *Kōfukuji* at Nara) in A.D. 788 (Enryaku 7).³

When the great *Tendai* priest Ennin (Jikaku Daishi), often mentioned above, died in A.D. 864 (Jōkwan 6, I 14), we read that he had spent one summer of his stay in China (A.D. 838—847) in the "Nirvāṇa shrine of the Great Avatamsaka Temple" (*Nehan-in* of *Daikegonji*).⁴

¹ *Daijiten*, p. 1375, 2, s.v. *Nehanshū*, p. 966, 3, s.v. *Jō-shutara-shū*. With regard to the Buddha's death and funeral cf. J. Przyluski, *Le Parinirvāṇa et les funérailles du Buddha*, *Journal Asiatique* 1914, II.

² *Nihon kōki*, Ch. XII, p. 32

³ *Nihon montoku jitsuroku*, Ch. V, p. 506. As to Gomyō cf. Washio, pp. 336 sq., where he is said to have preached about the *Yuimakyō*, *Saishōkyō*, *Yakushikyō* and *Hokkekyō*.

⁴ *Sandai jitsuroku*, Ch. VIII, p. 146.

In A.D. 884 (Genkei 8, III 26), when the *Shingon* priest Shū-ei (宗睿, A.D. 809—884) died, the *Sandai jitsuroku*, dealing with the most important facts of his life, relates that in A.D. 877, when the Emperor Seiwa had abdicated, in order to take refuge in the Law of the Buddha, Shū-ei admonished him to listen to the expounding of the *Kegonkyō* and the *Nehangyō*.¹

In A.D. 942 (Tenkei 5, III 17) the *Kwōtaigōgū* (皇太后宮), the Empress Dowager Yasuko, sacrificed the *Nehangyō* in the *Tendai* temple *Hōshōji* (法性寺), erected about A.D. 926 by Teishinkō (Fujiwara no Tadahira) and belonging to Jikaku Daishi's branch of the *Tendai* doctrine.² Three years later (A.D. 945, II 27) she made another offering to the same temple, namely of a *Tahō-tō* or Prabhūtaratna pagoda and a copy of the entire canon (*Issaikyō*).³

In A.D. 1027 (Manju 4, XI 14), shortly before the death of the great Michinaga (XII 4), his daughter Jōtōmon-in (Akiko) (A.D. 988—1074), who the year before had become a nun (the first Empress to take the title of *Mon-in*) endeavoured to save her father's life by commanding all Buddhist temples to perform *ten-doku* of more than 26000 chapters, i.e. copies, of the *Jumyōkyō*. This was Nanjō No 960, 佛說一切如來金剛壽命陀羅尼經, *Bussetsu issai Nyorai Kongō jumyō darani kyō*, *Buddhabhāshita-sarvatathāgata-vajrāyur-dhāranī-sūtra*, "Sūtra spoken by the Buddha on the magic formulae of strong (*vajra*) life, to be recited in worship of all Buddhas", translated in A.D. 723—730 by Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra (3 leaves) At the same time the Chūgū (中宮, the Empress I-shi, another daughter of Michinaga, Consort of the then reigning Emperor Go Ichijō) commanded the reading of the *Konkwōmyōkyō*, *Nehangyō* and *Yumakyō*. The Kwampaku Sadaajin Yorimichi, Michinaga's eldest son and successor, performed a *mansō kuyō*, i.e. "an offering to 10000 monks", and a hundred priests recited the *Fudō shingon* a million times.

¹ Ibid, Ch XLV, p. 626; *Fusō ryakki*, Ch xxii, p. 621.

² *Nihon kiryaku, kōhen*, Ch. II, p. 830, *Daijiten*, p. 1603, 1, s.v. *Hōshōji*.

³ *Nihon kiryaku, kōhen*, Ch. II, p. 834.

This, and much more (e.g. the reading of the *Ninnōkyō*), was done to restore Michinaga's health, but it was all in vain ¹

This *sūtra* is not again mentioned, but, as in China, the *Nehan-e* was celebrated on the day of the Buddha's death, the 15th of the second month.² Then a picture representing his immense figure, lying as in quiet sleep amidst the surrounding crowd of 52 different beings, deploring his death, was (and is) hung up in the temples and *sūtras* were and are still recited. It was a day of worship and religious abstinence (忌日, *imi-bi*, day of mourning and abstinence, both for priests and laymen)

The *Nehan-e* of *Ishiyama* (石山), i. e. the famous *Ishiyamadera* in Ōmi province, built in A.D. 749 by order of the Emperor Shōmu by Ryōben (良辨, A.D. 689—773), the propagator of the *Kegon* sect and *Ryōbu Shintō*, head of *Tōdaiji* (where he erected the *Daibutsu* in A.D. 746, by order of the same Emperor) was instituted in the 24th year of the reign of Kwammu Tennō (Enryaku 23, A.D. 804), shortly after this Emperor's ordinance concerning the study by the *Hossō* and *Sanron* monks of this *sūtra* and the three other important ones ³

The most important *Nehan-e*, however, was that of *Yamashinadera* (山階寺), i. e. the *Hossō* sanctuary *Kōfukuji* in Nara, which originally bore this name. This festival was instituted by the Emperor Seiwa in A.D. 860 (Jōkwan 2), when it was held again on the following day on behalf of the great Shintō god of Atsuta, who according to the legend had come to Nara, because he was so overjoyed by the institution of this festival. It was also called *Jōraku-e* (常樂會), "Festival of Perpetual Joy".⁴

¹ Ibid, Ch XIII, pp 1144 sq

² Cf. Nanjō, No. 1661, 佛祖統紀, Ch xxxiii. As to other dates of his death cf. *Dayū*, III, p 3758, 2, s.v. *Nehan-e*.

³ *Ranjōshō*, 鑑觴抄, *Gunsho ruyū* Vol. XVI, No. 465, II, p. 979. It is not Enryaku 24, A.D. 805, for the characters 甲申 are added, indicating A.D. 804

⁴ *Dayūten*, p 1376, 2, *Dayū*, III, p. 3758, 3 s.v. *Nehan-e*.

In later times, however, *Nehan-e* were celebrated in all great temples, although the *Kōfukuji* festival remained the principal ceremony of this kind. It was not held in A.D. 1294 (II 15), but a *Nehankō* or "Expounding of the Nirvāna sūtra" took place in the *Daitashō-in* (太多勝院) of the *Kameyama-dono*, which was performed by the *Hō-ō* (法皇), i.e. the *In* (院), the Emperor Kameyama, who had abdicated in A.D. 1274. On the previous day he had led a *Nehankō* in *Nanzen-in* (南禪院).¹

In A.D. 1374 (Ōan 7, II 15) a *Nehan* offering ceremony was celebrated by the head of the *Kurōdo* Moto-aki Ason in *Kyū-in* (舊院), evidently a palace in Kyōto, and towards night a *Nehankō* was held with Kengwatsu Shōnin as reader.²

In A.D. 1717 (Kyōhō 2, II 15) in *Tōfukuji* in Kyōto the famous Nirvāna picture by Chō Densu (Minchō, 兆殿司, 明兆, A.D. 1352—1431) was hung up; in *Hōonji* (報恩寺)³ a Buddha relic (a tooth) was shown to the worshippers; in *Daiunji* (大雲寺) (either the temple of that name, belonging to the Jimon branch of the *Tendai* sect and situated at Iwakura village, Atago district, Yamashiro province, or the *Jōdo Shinshū* temple in Echigo)⁴ there was a "*Nehan-e no neri-kuyō*" (written 練供養 instead of 行道供養, as in the *Daijiten*,⁵ where it is explained as a *gyōdō*, i.e. a *pradaksina* circumambulation ceremony around the Buddha image, accompanied by offerings). In *Shōryōji* (清涼寺), at Saga village, Kadono district, Yamashiro province, popularly called the *Shakadō* or "Śākyamuni chapel" after the Buddha image and its festival,⁶ the so-called *Hashira shōmyō*

¹ *Zoku Shugushō*, Vol. I (A.D. 1259—1382), Ch. x, Fushimi Tennō, Einin 2 (II), p. 288.

² *Ibid.*, Ch. xxvii, p. 781.

³ There are four important temples of this name. two of the *Jōdo Shinshū*, one of the *Ōbaku*, and one of the *Nichiren* sect, cf. *Dayu*, III, p. 4082, s.v. *Hōonji*.

⁴ *Dayu*, III, p. 3132, 3, s.v. *Daiunji*.

⁵ *Dayiten*, p. 1376, 3, s.v. *neri* (cf. Brinkley s.v. *neri*: walking slowly, as in a procession).

⁶ *Dayu*, II, p. 2751, 3, s.v. *Shōryōji*.

(柱松明) or *Hashira-taimatsu* (柱炬火), "Pillar-torches", took place on this day. This was a nocturnal festival, lighted by means of two huge torch-pillars erected before the *Shakadō*; it consisted of dances in honour of Śākyamuni, whose name was at the same time invoked.¹ In Yamazaki (Otokuni district, Yamashiro) the curtain of the *Kwannon* image of *Takara-dera* (寶寺) was opened, and in the *Rokujidō* (六時堂) of *Tennōji* (天王寺) in Ōsaka the *Nehan-e* was celebrated with dances and music. A *Nehan-e* was also held in the central sanctuary of the *Jōdo* sect, *Zōjōji* in Yedo; that of *Kōfukuji* in Nara was called *Jōraku-e* (常樂會).²

In A.D. 1845 on the evening before the *Nehan-e* the *Shūngon* priest Unshō (雲照) (A.D. 1827—1910) made an oath before the image of the Buddha, never to be together with women, and in consequence of this oath he practised the secret ceremony of *Ashara* (*Acala*, i.e. *Fudō*) *Myōō* three thousand times.³

Thus to all sects the Festival of the Buddha's Nirvāṇa was of the greatest importance, although it is rarely mentioned in the annals

§ 4. *The Yuima-kyō and the Yuima-e* (*Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa*, Nanjō No. 146, and its festival)

A. *Contents of the Yuimakyō.*

As stated above (Ch. I, § 5, p. 11), in Japan Kumārajīva's translation of this *sūtra* (Nanjō No. 146), entitled *Yuimakitsu-shosetsu-kyō* (維摩詰所說經) (abbreviated into *Yumakyō* or *Yumakitsu-gyō*), was in frequent use. Neither the older one

¹ Ueda, *Dayūten*, p. 1149, 4, s.v. *hashura*, No. 4871 *hashura taimatsu*

² *Dayū*, III, p. 3758, 3, s.v. *Nehan-e*, referring to the *Shokoku nenjū gyōji*, "Ceremonies of the whole year in all provinces", printed in A.D. 1717 (Kyōhō 2)

³ *Himitsu jirin*, p. 81, 1, s.v. *Unshō*.

No. 147, was so popular, nor Hsien-tsang's translation, No. 149. Altogether Kumārajīva's translations were held in high esteem.

The text is divided into 14 chapters (品) and 3 fasciculi. Fasc. I consists of 4 chapters entitled. 佛國, 方便, 弟子, 菩薩, *Bukkoku, hōben, deshi, Bosatsu*, "Buddha lands, *upāya* (means of conversion), the disciples (of the Buddha), and the Bodhisattvas". Chapters 5—9, forming Fasc. II, are called: 文殊師利問疾, 不思議, 觀衆生, 佛道, 入不二法門, *Monjushiri monjichi, fushugi, kwanshujō, Butsudō, nyūjūni-hōmon*, "Mañjuśrī asks (Vimalakīrti) concerning the latter's illness, miracles, contemplation on living beings, the Buddha road and entering the gate of the doctrine of equality". Finally, Fasc. III contains the five last chapters (10—14), entitled: 香積佛, 菩薩行, 見阿閼佛, 法供養, 囑累, *Kōshaku Butsu, Bosatsu-gyō, Ken-Ashuku, hō-kuyō, zokurui*, "The Buddha Gandhālaya, the Bodhisattva practices, seeing the Buddha Akshobhya, offering of the Law (i.e. preaching and propagating it), and committing (the *sūtra* to Maitreya; in the last chapter the Buddha often commits a *sūtra* to special persons, cf. above the *Ninnōkyō*, Ch V, § 2, D, p 125).

The Buddha delivered this sermon to an immense crowd of beings in the Mango grove (菴羅樹園, *Anraju-on*)¹ at Vaiśālī, presented by the famous courtesan *Āmrāpālī*.² Brahma, the Mahābrahma Śikhī and the Four Deva Kings also came there to listen to his discourse. At that time there lived in Vaiśālī a *śreṣṭhin* (長者, *chōja*, a *grhapatī*), a man wealthy, wise and virtuous, who, although not a monk, was a very holy and merciful propagator of the Buddha's Law, full of miraculous power, who by all means endeavoured to convert and save sentient beings. His name was Vimalakīrti (維摩詰, *Yuimakitsu*, translated into 淨名, *Jōmyō*, or, by the later translators, 無垢稱, *Mu-*

¹ Cf. *Daiziten*, p. 48, 1, s v *anra*.

² Eitel, p. 10, s v *Āmrādārikā*, Kern, *Manual*, p. 29, note 8, p 41.

kushō, "Pure name"). Just at that time he used illness as an *upāya* (*hōben*, means of conversion) (ch. 2) in order to cause the king, the ministers, the *śreṣṭhin*, merchants and Brahmins, as well as the royal princes and officials to come to his house and inquire after his disease. They did so, and he then explained to a crowd of several thousand people the inconstancy and debility of the physical body and the glorious virtues and wisdom of the Buddha body, *Dharmakāya*; thus he caused them all to develop a Bodhi heart, with the wish to obtain a Buddha body and to abolish all diseases of living beings.

Then Vimalakīrti thought: "Why does the Buddha in his great mercy not send down his compassion upon me, while I am lying upon my couch?" Knowing this thought the Tathāgata thereupon successively asked his disciples (ch. 3) Śāriputra, Maudgalyayana, Mahā-Kāśyapa, Subhūti, Pūrṇa-Maitrāyanīputra, Mahā-Kātyāyana, Anuruddha, Rāhula, Ānanda and all the other 500 Great Disciples, to go to Vimalakīrti and ask him about his illness, but they all declined, giving their reasons for this refusal. Also Maitreya and two others would not go (ch. 4, *Bosatsu*)

Mañjuśrī alone (ch. 5) obeyed, albeit he stated the great difficulty of answering such a great sage whose miraculous power was so enormous. Surrounded respectfully by all the Bodhisattvas, Great Disciples and Devas, he entered the town. Then Vimalakīrti, who knew that they were coming, by means of his miraculous power made his room empty, so that there was only the couch upon which he lay, without any attendant. To Mañjuśrī's question concerning the cause of his disease, Vimalakīrti answered that he was ill because all living beings are ill, if their diseases, caused by foolishness and love, were extinguished, he too would be cured. In this way on behalf of all living beings the Bodhisattva enters birth and death, and where these exist there is disease. If they get rid of it, he too is free from illness. And when Mañjuśrī asks why this room is empty, he answers that all Buddha lands are empty on account of their emptiness.

Thus the conversation goes on with regard to disease, emptiness, and the duties of a Bodhisattva. In ch. 6 Vimalakīrti shows his miraculous power by causing 32000 lion thrones, high and broad, majestic and pure, to appear in the room. In the following chapters (7—10) the conversation deals with various subjects, giving a bodhi heart to a hundred thousand devas and raising ten thousand Bodhisattvas to the fourth of the five kinds of forbearance.¹ In ch. 11 Vimalakīrti places them all with the lion thrones on his right hand and thus they reach the Buddha's place in the Mango grove, where they listen to his explanations (ch. 11—14).²

§ 4, B. Chinese and Japanese images and pictures of Vimalakīrti

Vimalakīrti was a favourite subject of Chinese and Japanese Buddhist artists. In Japan his oldest images are the well-known statue of dried lacquer (*kanshitsu*) by an unknown sculptor of the 8th century, preserved in *Hokkeji*, Yamato province (seated, with a *nyo-i* sceptre in his hands, as a symbol of his magic power, *Kokkwa* No. 214, II).

The second figure of Vimalakīrti (Yuima), also belonging to the Tempyō era (8th century), is found in *Hōryūji*, Nara. There we see a group of clay statues, representing him and Mañjuśrī as the main figures, both seated and talking, in the presence of Śāriputra and other Bodhisattvas, a Deva king and other auditors (*Kokkwa* No. 183, II).

Then follows, in chronological order, the magnificent painting

¹ Cf. above, Ch. v, § 2, G, note 1.

² As to *Kinzoku Hyorai*, 金粟如來, identified with Yuima, cf. *Dayiten*, p. 259, 1, s.v. *Kinzoku*, "Golden millet (an ancient tradition, but not based upon the genuine *sūtras*), respecting Yuima's silence as answer to Monju cf. *Dayiten*, p. 1738, 3, s.v. *mokunen* (默然) and 1739, 1, s.v. *moku funi*, 默不二.

in colours on silk, by an unknown artist of the Sung dynasty (A.D. 960—1279), preserved in *Tōfukuji*, the famous *Rinzai* sanctuary in Kyōto. There he is seated on a broad couch, beautifully adorned: an old man with a gray beard, emaciated and with an Arhat-like face, long, thin hands with very long and pointed nails, a big round halo behind his head, and a fly-brush (symbol of holiness) in his right hand (*Kokkwa* No. 288, VII).

The next picture is an ink-sketch in the style of the Southern Sung dynasty (A.D. 1127—1279), by the well-known Indian painter Indra (Yin-t'ō-lo, 因陀羅). This *Dhyāna* priest lived in China in the beginning of the Yuen dynasty (A.D. 1279—1368). His work (cf. *Kokkwa* Nos. 35 I, 110 I; 201 III, 223 VII, 419 III) was highly esteemed in Japan. *Vimalakīrti* is represented lying semi-recumbent on his sick-bed, with his hands under his cloth and with an emaciated face (*Kokkwa* No. 310, VI).

The *Hossō* temple *Kōfukuji* in Nara possesses the celebrated and beautiful wooden image of Yuima by the great Japanese sculptor Unkei (Unkyō, 運慶) of the 13th century. The saint is seated on a high, square throne, which is richly ornamented; his left hand holds a *nyō-i* sceptre, and he is leaning against the high back of the throne (*Kokkwa* No. 34, V). Its pendant is *Monju Bosatsu* (*Mañjuśrī*), which is based on the contents of the *Yuimakyō*, given above.

In the same temple Takuma Eiga (宅磨榮賀)'s beautiful picture of Yuima (in colours on silk, beginning of the 14th century) is preserved, which represents him seated upon a broad couch, preaching with his right hand raised. Before him the small figure of the Japanese *daishokkwan*, Fujiwara no Kamatari (大織官 藤原鎌足) (A.D. 614—669, the first of the Fujiwara's, cf. below, this paragraph, C) is seen, seated on a chair (*Kokkwa* No. 68, II, pp. 383 sq.).

According to the extensive inscription an ink-sketch on paper, by Bunsei (文清, Bunshō), where we see him leaning upon his arm-rest, with a fly-brush in his right hand and with a very

expressive face, dates from A.D. 1457 (*Kokkwa* No. 144, I).

Another ink-sketch, by Ogata Kōrin (尾形光琳) (A.D. 1661—1716), only gives his bearded face and his shoulders, with the fly-brush in his right hand; as in all his images and pictures a cap is on his head (*Kokkwa* No. 221, IV).

§ 4, C. *The Yuima-e in Japan (in the Hossō temple Kōfukuji in Nara, X 10—16, A.D. 712, 757, 801—1868).*

It has been related above (Ch. I, § 5, p 10; Ch. XI, § 6, p. 443) how according to the *Genkō Shakusho*¹ and the *Fusō ryakki*² in A.D. 656 the Korean nun Hōmyō was the first to expound the *Yuumakyō* on behalf of Nakatomī no Kamatarī, the first of the Fujiwara's, and that he was cured even before she had finished reading. The reason that she chose this *sūtra* was, as she said, because on account of (Mañjuśrī's) enquiring from Vimalakīrti the cause of his illness the great Dharma was explained. She expounded, of course, the fifth chapter, "Mañjuśrī's enquiry about (Vimalakīrti's) illness". The following year (A.D. 657, X) Kamatarī erected *Yamashina-dera* in Suehara, Yamashiro (or, according to another tradition, his principal wife did so after his death (A.D. 669, X 16), placing therein the images of *Shaka*, *Monju* and *Fugen*, made by him in fulfilment of a vow) This temple, transplaced to Umayazaka at Atsuka in Yamato in A.D. 678 by his son Fubito (A.D. 659—720), and then called *Hōkwōji* or *Umayazaka-dera*, was again transplaced by him in A.D. 710 (Wadō 3), this time to Nara, and thenceforth its name was *Kōfukuji* or *Kōbukuji*. This famous *Hossō* sanctuary was also called *Kasuga-dera*, because it was the family shrine of the Fujiwara's, whose tutelary deity was the Shintō god of Kasuga.

The *Yuima-saie* or "Vegetarian meeting devoted to the ex-

¹ *Genkō shakusho*, Ch. XXI, p. 993

² *Fusō ryakki*, Ch. IV, pp. 516 sqq

pounding of) the *Yuimakyō*', held by Kamatarī in A.D. 658 in *Yamashina-dera* at Suehara is said to have been the origin of the *Yuima-e*, afterwards a yearly festival of *Kōfukuji* (X 10—16). Since the sixteenth of the tenth month was the day of Kamatarī's death, it had become a festival on behalf of Kamatarī's soul. With regard to its beginning, however, the ordinary tradition states that in A.D. 658 a Chinese *Sanron* priest of *Gwangōji* (*Asuka-dera*), Fukuryō (福亮), at Kamatarī's request explained the *Yuimakyō* in the temple at Suehara.¹

After this we do not again hear of a Yuima service until A.D. 706 (Keiun 3), when Fujiwara no Fubito² instituted the *Yuima-e*, to be celebrated during seven days (X 10—16) on behalf of the soul of his father, Kamatarī. The *Genkō Shakusho* and the *Fusō ryakki*, while stating this fact, make no mention of a temple, but in A.D. 709 (X) the former work speaks of the "pure place (*vihāra*, temple, monastery) of *Uetsuki*" (植槻淨場), i.e. the Buddhist sanctuary of *Uetsuki* (殖槻) in Ikoma district, Yamato province, a Kwannon shrine founded in Temmu Tennō's reign (A.D. 672—686) by Chitsū Sōjō, 智通僧正. In A.D. 658 this priest went to China together with *Chitatsu* (智達), there they learned the *Hossō* doctrine from Hūen-tsang and his pupil Kw'ér-kī (窺基). After their return to Japan they propagated it (Dōshō had introduced it in A.D. 654), and Chitsū founded *Kwannonji* at *Uetsuki*.³ According to the *Shoreishō* (初例抄) the *Yuima-e* was instituted in Keiun 4 (A.D. 707) in *Umayazaka-dera* (i.e. *Hōkōji* at Asuka transferred to that place from *Yamashina* in A.D. 678 by Fubito), with the priest Kwanchi (觀智) as leader (*kōshi*). In the Wadō era it was transferred to *Uetsuki-dera*, and in Wadō 5 (A.D. 712) to *Kōfukuji*. The *Yamato-shi* (大和志) says that "in Wadō 2 (A.D. 709) the priest Jōren

¹ *Genkō Shakusho* and *Fusō ryakki*, 11

² Often called by this posthumous title of *Tankai kō*, 淡海公 (*Tankai* is Ōmi), bestowed upon him in A.D. 760.

³ Washio, p. 799, 2, s.v. *Chitatsu* and *Chitsū*

(淨蓮) performed the *Yuuma-e*, in the *Uetsuki-dōjō* (道場)'.¹ This agrees with the statement in the *Genkō Shakusho*, but there the name of the leading priest is Jōtatsu (淨達).² This was a *Hossō* priest of *Gwangōji*, who two years previously had returned from Shiragi (Korea) with four other monks.³ In A.D. 706 the *kōshi's* name was Chihō (智鳳), another *Hossō* priest of *Gwangōji*, who had studied in China for several years.⁴ The *Genkō Shakusho* adds that the date of the festival was X 10—16, because X 16 was the day of Kamatari's death and special worship. In A.D. 712 it was for the first time held in *Kōfukuji* (erected in A.D. 710, with the images of Shaka, Monju and Fugen).⁵

Thenceforward for many years we do not read of this ceremony, but according to the *Dayu*⁶ the Emperor Shōmu was the first to acknowledge it in an Imperial Ordinance, by which he made a donation for it and caused it to be celebrated in pompous style (Tempyō 5, A.D. 733). The *Shoku Nihongi*, however, does not mention it until A.D. 757 (Tempyō Hōji 1, Intercal. VIII 17), when the Empress Kōken issued a lengthy ordinance, in which she said that the *Yuuma-e* had been instituted by the *Naidaijin* (Kamatari) in *Yamashina-dera*, but that after his death it had not taken place for thirty years.

Then the *Dajō-daijin* Fujiwara no Fubito (in the text the name is given as Taneko, but it is evident that Fubito is intended; after his death he received the title of *Dajō-daijin*), regretting that the shrine was about to collapse, made a solemn oath that he would continue his father's institution. Thus he instituted a yearly festival from X 10 to the *Naidaijin* Kamatari's death-day

¹ Yoshida Tōgo, *Dai Nihon chimei jusho*, I, p. 221, 1, s.v. *Uetsuki*.

² *Genkō Shakusho*, Ch. XXI, p. 1008; *Fusō ryakki*, Ch. vi, p. 541

³ Washio, p. 669, 2, s.v. *Jōtatsu*.

⁴ Washio, p. 802, 1, s.v. *Chihō*; *Genkō Shakusho*, I.I., p. 1007. The *Fusō ryakki*, Ch. v, p. 539, by mistake calls him Chihō, 智寶.

⁵ *Genkō Shakusho*, I.I., p. 1008.

⁶ *Dayu*, III, p. 4425, 1, s.v. *Yuuma-e*.

(X 16). Now the Empress wished to give assistance to the *Yuima-e* by conferring upon that temple a perpetual donation of land (*kōden*, 功田, rice fields given to meritorious persons), and she requested intending donors to be quick in executing their intention.

In A.D. 801 (Enryaku 20, X 21) the Emperor Kwammu by special Ordinance fixed *Kōfukuji* as the place of celebrating the *Yuimae*. By doing so he reestablished the old custom; in later years it had sometimes been performed in Nagaoka (from A.D. 782—794 Kwammu Tennō's residence, before he went to Kyōto) and sometimes in *Hokkeji*, the nunnery and general (*sō*) *kokubun-niji* in Nara.¹

The following year (A.D. 802, I 13) the same Emperor, wishing to put a stop to the rivalry of the *Sanron* and *Hossō* sects, ordered that thenceforth the festival of the *Saishōōkyō* (the *Gosaie*, I 8—14, in the Palace) should be held in the first month, and in the tenth month that of the *Yuumakyō*. Evidently he considered the celebration of these ceremonies as the main task of those sects, the *Gosaie* belonging to the *Sanron* and the *Yuima-e* to the *Hossō* sect.² Yet in A.D. 819 the *Sanron* priest Jitsubin (實敏) (A.D. 785—853) was *Yuima-e kōshi*, much later, in A.D. 842 (Shōwa 9) he was appointed *kōshi* of the *Saishōe* in the *Daigokuden* of the Palace (the *Gosaie*, I 8—14).³ Before A.D. 862 (Jōkwan 4, when he was *Saishōe kōshi*) Chōken (長賢), a *Sanron* priest although belonging to the *Hossō* sanctuary *Hōryūji* was the leader of the *Yuima-e*, a function which was always the first of two or three of this kind (*ni-e*, *san(n)e*).⁴ In A.D. 874 (Jōkwan 16) the *Sanron* monk Chōkai (澄海), a *Sanron* priest of the *Kegon* shrine *Tōdaiji*, led this ceremony.⁵ In A.D. 856

¹ *Genkō Shakusho*, Ch xxiii, p. 1039, *Fusō ryakki*, Enryaku 21 (A.D. 802), p. 587, *Dayū*, III, p. 4425, 1 s.v. *Yuima-e*.

² *Nihon kiryaku*, *Zempen*, Ch xiii, p. 386

³ Washio, p. 442, 1, s.v. *Jitsubin*.

⁴ Washio, p. 818, 2, s.v. *Chōken*.

⁵ Washio, p. 823, 2 s.v. *Chōkai*

(Seikō 3) the *Kegon* priest Shōshin (正進) of *Tōdaiji* was the leading functionary,¹ and in A.D. 869 (Jōkwan 11) the famous *Shingon* priest Shōbō (聖寶) (A.D. 832—909, Rigen Daishi, 理源大師) was appointed *Yuima-e kōshi* for that year.² Before that, in A.D. 832 (Tenchō 9), the *Tendai* priest Gishin (義真) (A.D. 781—833), the first *zasu* of *Enryakuji* on *Hieiizan*, was also the first *Tendai kōshi* of the *Yuima-e*.³ In A.D. 875 (Jōkwan 17) the great *Tendai* priest Enchin (圓珍) (A.D. 814—891, Chishō Daishi 智證大師), who in A.D. 858 founded *Onjōji* (園城寺) (*Mudera*) as the seat of the *Jimon* (寺門) doctrine preached by him, successfully requested the Emperor Seiwa, who during the Jōkwan era often appointed priests of other sects to act as *Yuima-kōshi* instead of *Hossō* monks, to increase from one to two the number of *Tendai* monks taking part in the ceremony. Thirteen years later (A.D. 888, Ninna 4) Uda Tennō made him *Yuima-e kōshi*.⁴ *Kegon* leaders of the *Yuima-e* in this era were also Genei (玄榮) of *Tōdaiji* (*Saishō-e kōshi* in A.D. 873)⁵ and Kōchi (興智) of the same temple (*Saishō-e kōshi* in A.D. 865)⁶

Most of the leaders of this festival were, of course, *Hossō* priests. Thus we found in Washio's *Nihon Bukke jimmē jisho* the following proportion among the priests of the five sects in whose biographies this function was mentioned. In the 8th century only *Hossō* monks, in the 9th 20 *Hossō*, 3 *Sanron*, 4 *Kegon*, 2 *Tendai* and 2 *Shingon* priests. In the 10th century 19 *Hossō*, 1 *Sanron*, 1 *Kegon*, 2 *Tendai*, 3 *Shingon*; in the 11th 8 *Hossō*, 3 *Sanron*, 2 *Kegon*, 2 *Tendai*, no *Shingon*; in the 12th 4 *Hossō*, 1 *Sanron*, no *Kegon*, 3 *Tendai*, 3 *Shingon*; in the 13th 9 *Hossō*, no *Sanron* or *Kegon*, 2 *Tendai*, 2 *Shingon*; in the 14th century

¹ Washio, p. 585, 1, s.v. *Shōshin*

² Washio, p. 616, 2, s.v. *Shōbō*; *Himitsu jirin*, p. 1092, 2, s.v. *Rigen Daishi*.

³ Washio, p. 172, 1, s.v. *Gishin*.

⁴ Washio, p. 97, 2, s.v. *Enchin*.

⁵ Washio, p. 293, 2, s.v. *Genei*.

⁶ Washio, p. 373, 1, s.v. *Kōchi*.

1 *Hossō*, 1 *Tendai*, 1 *Shingon* (the priests of the two latter sects are mentioned as leaders of the three festivals in the 13th and 14th centuries). In A.D. 1396 (Ōei 3) the *Hossō* priest Shōshin (清心) was appointed *kōshu* after a long lapse of time during which the ceremony had not been celebrated.¹ In the 15th and 16th centuries, however, no names of leaders are mentioned; before A.D. 1651 the *Kegon* priest Eishō (英性) (A.D. 1611—1677) caused a revival of the *Hokke-e* and the *Yuima-e*.²

Famous names connected with the *sūtra*, but not with the festival, are. Shōtoku Taishi (A.D. 574—622), who wrote commentaries on the *Hokke*, *Shōman* and *Yuimakyō* (Nanjō Nos 134, 59 and 146),³ and Saichō (Dengyō Daishi), the founder of the *Tendai* sect (A.D. 767—822), who prior to A.D. 788 studied the commentaries on the *Yuimakyō*, and afterwards wrote a *Yuimakashotsu* (開發, explanation).⁴ As to the festival itself, in A.D. 974 (Tenen 2) the *Tendai* priest Zōga (増賀) (A.D. 917—1003) was the first to change the *Yuima-e* of X 15 into a *Hokke-e*, with one priest as *ryūgi* (豎義).⁵

In A.D. 885 (Ninna 1, IX 5) by Imperial Ordinance Kwōkō Tennō (A.D. 884—887) added one *ryūgi* or "Expounder" (立義, the same as 豎義, *ryūgi*, "he who sets up the meaning" of difficult passages and subjects) to the nine functionaries who were the *ryūgisha* or *rissha* (豎義者, 豎者) of the *Yuima-e* of *Kōfukujī* and the *Saishōe* of *Yakushiji*. He praised these two festivals as the essential points (*kanjin*, 肝心) of the Buddhist doctrine and the glory (*shifun*, 脂粉, litt fat and powder, cosmetic) of the Canon of the Law (*hōzō*), for which the "famous virtues" (i. e. virtuous priests) of the world opened their bookcovers and the students of the country raised the wicks of their lamps".

¹ Washio, p. 627, 1, s.v. *Shōshin*.

² Washio, p. 75, 2, s.v. *Eishō*.

³ Washio, p. 616, 1, s.v. *Shōtoku Taishi*.

⁴ Washio, pp. 396, 2, 403, 1, s.v. *Saichō*.

⁵ Washio, p. 748, 2 s.v. *Zōga*.

Ten of the thirty "hearers" (聽衆, *chōshu*) (i. e. all the priests of the ceremony in addition to the *kōshi*, *ryūgisha*, *nanja* or *monja*, "those who put the questions"),¹ invited to be present at the *Yuima-e*, belonged to *Kōfukuji*, and five of the twenty „hearers” of the *Saishō-e* were monks of *Yakushiji*. The others belonged to other monasteries,² but because of the two main sanctuaries themselves only three priests (of one monastery) took part in both ceremonies. The number of the *ryūgi* was enlarged in order to extend those great festivals and to show the difference between the main shrines and other temples³.

As to the *ryūgisha* or *ryūgi*⁴ of the *Yuima-e*, in A.D. 834 (Shōwa 1, I 29) they were mentioned in Nimmō Tennō's Ordinance, stating that according to ancient precedents priests who had attained this rank should be requested to act as leaders (*kōshi*) of the Retreats (*ango*) in all monasteries.⁵ This is clear evidence of the antiquity and great importance of this function.⁶ The *tandai* (探題, "he who examines the subjects") chose and fixed the subjects on which questions were to be put by the *nanja* (難者, „those who make it difficult”) or *monja* (問者, "those who ask”), the *ryūja* or *rissha* (豎者) or *ryūgisha* explain, and the *shōgi* (證義, "those who testify, verify the meaning”) criticize and decide the value of the problems and the correctness of their solutions. So soon as the *tandai* and lower priests have

¹ *Dayūten*, p. 1201, 2, s.v. *chōshu*.

² Those of Nara and the *Tendai gogwanji* (御願寺). Cf. *Dayū*, p. 4479, 2, s.v. *ryūgi*.

³ *Sandai jitsuroku*, Ch. XLVIII, p. 668, *Fusō ryakki*, Ch. XXII, p. 624.

⁴ *Ryūgi* or *rongi* (論義) is the name of the discussion on difficult problems, with questions and answers, held at the principal *hō-e* or „Ceremonies of the Law”, cf. above, Ch. XI, § 8, A, p. 477 (*Gosale*)

⁵ *Shoku Nihon kōki*, Ch. III, p. 190

⁶ If they accomplished their task successfully, they were thenceforth *suigō man-i no gakushō*, 遂業滿位學匠, "scholars of the highest rank who had accomplished their task" (*Dayū*, III, p. 4510, s.v. *rissha*).

taken their seats, and the bell of the *ryūgi* has been beaten, the *ryūja*, after having bowed before the Buddha, ascends the pulpit, receives a paper from the *jūgishi* (從儀師, "assistant master of the ceremony"), reads the subjects of discussion which it contains, and explains them. Five kinds of questions and answers having been put and given in this way, the *shōgi* (or the *tandai*) deals with them minutely and gives his decision. The *Yuima-e* of *Kōfukuji* and the *Saishō-e* of *Yakushiji* were the first ceremonies to which such discussions were granted by Imperial Ordinance; afterwards they took place also at the *Gosate* (the *Uchi rongi*, from Kōnin 4, A.D. 813), on the 5th day of the *Hokke* festival of *Enryakuji* in the eleventh month (*Shimotsuki-e*, 十一月會; this *ryūgi* began in Enryaku 20, A.D. 801), the *Minazuki-e* (六月會) or "Festival of the Sixth Month", also celebrated in *Enryakuji* on *Hieiizan* (*Hokke jūkō*) (this *ryūgi* began in Shōwa 13, A.D. 846), at the three ceremonies of the Northern Capital (Kyōto) (A.D. 1072, 1078, 1082), the *Hōjōji hakkō* (from Chōgen 7, A.D. 1034) and many other festivals.¹

In A.D. 887 (Ninna 3, VIII 5), shortly before his death (VIII 26 end of the *Sandai jitsuroku*), Kwōkō Tennō issued an ordinance by which he established the rule that one priest of *Gwangeiji* (元慶寺, also called *Kwazanji*, 花山寺, in Uji district, Yamashiro province, a *Tendai* shrine with *Yakushi-Nyorai* as *honzon*, founded by Seiwa Tennō in A.D. 876, Jōkwan 18)² should be invited each year to assist as one of the "hearers" at the *Yuima-e* of *Kōfukuji*.³

In A.D. 935 (Shōkyō 5) and 1007 (Kwankō 4) the *Fusō ryakki* mentions the names of the *Tendai* priest Kizō (基増) and the *Hossō* priest Fukō (扶公) as *kōshi* of this ceremony.⁴ In A.D. 1067 (Chiryaku 3, II 5) the Golden Hall of *Kōfukuji* was rebuilt, and

¹ *Dayu*, III, p. 4479, s.v. *ryūgi*, II, p. 2547, 3, s.v. *shōgi*.

² Yoshida Tōgo, *Dai Nihon chimei jisho*, I, p. 157, 1.

³ *Sandai jitsuroku*, Ch. L, p. 721.

⁴ *Fusō ryakki*, Ch. xxv, p. 698, Ch. xxviii, p. 766.

images were made and placed therein, representing *Shaka*, *Yaku-ō* and *Yaku-jō*, two of *Juchūmen Kwannon*, and eight of the *Four Deva Kings*; in the newly built *Miroku-jōdo-in* images of Bodhisattvas and the *Four devas*, and in the *Kōdō* or "Expounding Hall", which was erected and decorated, *Amida* (like *Shaka* 16 feet high and gold-coloured), *Kwannon* and *Seishū*, *Monju*, *Jōmyō* (淨名, i. e. *Jōmyō koji*, 居士, *Vimalakīrti*, here called a Bodhisattva) and the *Shitenō*.

In the new Eastern *Kondō* (Golden Hall) *Yakushi Nyorai* (16 feet high and gold-coloured) with his attendant Bodhisattvas *Nikkō* and *Gwakkō*, *Kokūzō* (*Ākāśagarbha*), *Kwannon*, *Yuima-kitsu* and eight images of *Benten* (*Sarasvatī*) were placed, and in the *Jikidō* (dining-hall) the *Thirty* (this should be *Forty*, as one text gives it) -armed *Kwannon*. Three hundred monks were invited, and in this way the sanctuary, which in A. D. 1060 (*Kōhei* 3) had been destroyed by fire, regained its ancient glory.¹ We see that *Shaka*, *Amida* and *Yakushi*, all three sixteen feet high and gold-coloured, were worshipped as the chief figures of three groups, and that *Vimalakīrti* belonged to two of them.

The festival was not intermitted even when, as in *Genkei* 2 (A. D. 878), *Eishō* 1 (A. D. 1046), *Kōhei* 3 (A. D. 1060) and *Kahō* 3 (A. D. 1096), *Kōfukuji* was destroyed by fire, but was held in another building. When in A. D. 1078 (*Shōryaku* 2) *Shirakawa Tennō* devided the *choku-e* (勅會, "Festivals held by Imperial Order") into those of the "Southern Capital" (*Nanto*, *Nara*) and of the "Northern Peak" (*Hokurei*, 北嶺, i. e. *Hieiizan*), the *Yuima-e* became a special festival of the former category.

In A. D. 1180 (*Jishō* 4, XII) *Kōfukuji* and *Tōdaiji* were entirely burned down by *Taira no Shigehira* (重衡) after the battle of *Ujibashi*, because they had assisted the *Minamoto's*. The following year *Kōfukuji* was hastily rebuilt, but as it could not be ready before X 10, the date of the *Yuima-e*, the newly made Buddha

¹ *Fusō ryakki*, Ch. xxix, p. 810

image, destined to become the *honzon* of the *Kōdō* ("Expounding Hall"), was placed and dedicated in the half-completed *Kondō* by means of the *kaigen* ("Opening of the eyes") ceremony, and the *Yuima-e* took place at its usual time. So great was the blessing power ascribed to this festival. From Enryaku 20 (A.D. 801) to Katei 2 (A.D. 1236) its performance was never omitted or postponed; in A.D. 1236 for some reason it was held on XII 8.

After the *Nambokuchō* (A.D. 1336—1392), however, the ancient rule was gradually neglected, and the ceremony was practised in alternate years or once in five years or even omitted for 14 or 15 years. It was abolished at the time of the Restoration (A.D. 1868). To the last *Amida Nyorai* of the *Kōdō*, the building where the ceremony took place, remained its *honzon*.¹

§ 5. *The Issaikyō or Daizōkyō (the Canon), and the Issaikyō-e or Daizō-e and Dayō-e (its festivals) in Japan*
(7th—14th cent. A.D.)

The reading of the *Issaikyō* or "all the *sūtras*", an abbreviated term for the whole Canon (*issai kyō-ritsu-ron*, "all *sūtras*, *vinayas* and *abhidharmas*"), consisting of 5048 fasciculi (*kwan*) in A.D. 651 (XII 30) and 677 (VIII 15) is mentioned above (Book I, Ch I, § 4, p. 8). The former ceremony, attended by more than 2100 monks and nuns, served to consecrate the new Palace of Ajifu, when the Emperor Kōtoku was about to take up his residence in that building. At the same time it was a lantern festival of

¹ *Dayu*, III, p. 4425, 1 and 2, s.v. *Yuima-e*. Cf. *Zoku Shūgushō*, Vol I, pp. 814, 820 (not held in A.D. 1380 and 1381, because the 神木 was in the capital, and Nara was not quiet), II pp. 179 sq. (postponed in A.D. 1396 to XI 10—16), II p. 422 (not held in A.D. 1489), II pp. 429 sq. (postponed in A.D. 1491 to XII 16—22), II p. 740 (held in A.D. 1622, X 21—27), afterwards not mentioned in this work which deals with the years A.D. 1259 to 1779.

the last day of the year, in order to drive away the demons of darkness before the advent of the new year.¹

By order of Temmu Tennō (A.D. 672—686) in A.D. 673 the canon was copied in *Kawara-dera*,² and in A.D. 677 (VIII 15) the same Emperor had it read in *Asuka-dera*, when he gave a great vegetarian entertainment to the monks and worshipped the Triratna.³

Thereafter we do not read about it for a long time, in A.D. 759 (Tempyō hōji 3, called 2 in the *Genkō Shakusho*) (VIII) the *Hossō* priest Kenkei (賢憬) presented the *Daizō* (大藏), still consisting of 5048 *kwan*, which he had copied, to the new temple *Shōdaiji* (招提寺), erected by the Chinese priest Kanshin (鑑真) (A.D. 687—763), founder of the *Vinaya* sect in Japan. In this way they honoured the Emperor Shōmu († A.D. 756), to whom, as well as to the Imperial Princes and the 430 functionaries of the Court, Kanshin had given the ten *kai* (*pratimokṣas*), explained in the *Bommōkyō*.⁴

In A.D. 767 (Jingo keiun 1) Takano Tennō, i.e. the Empress *Shōtoku*, formerly *Kōken*, nominated an official "jikwan (Vice-Director) for the copying of the *Issaikyō*".⁵

In A.D. 805 (X), shortly before the Emperor Kwammu's death, when everything was being done in order to save his life, and to soothe the angry spirit of "Sudō Tennō" (cf. above, Ch. XI, § 7 F, p. 467), the *Daizōkyō* was copied and sacrificed to him, and each of the writers was praised.⁶

In A.D. 829 (Tenchō 6, V 19) ten priests performed *tendoku* of the *Issaikyō* in the Buddhist temple of the *Hachiman Dai-bosatsu-gū* (官寺, *gūji*).⁷

¹ *Nihongi*, Ch. xxv, p. 452; Aston II, p. 240

² *Nihongi*, Ch. xxix, p. 504; Aston II, p. 322

³ *Nihongi*, Ch. xxix, p. 513; Aston II, p. 337

⁴ *Genkō Shakusho*, xxii, p. 1026 Cf. Papinot, p. 295, s.v. *Kanshin*. *Fusō ryakki*, *bassui*, p. 573 (Tempyō hōji 3).

⁵ *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. xxviii, p. 482

⁶ *Genkō Shakusho*, Ch. xxiii, p. 1041

⁷ *Nihon kiryaku*, *zempo*, Ch. xiv, p. 460

In A.D. 853 (Ninju 3, V 14) the Emperor Montoku ordered Musashi and other provinces to copy the *Issaikyō* in order to drive away the prevailing pestilence. Ten days earlier he had issued the same order to Sagami and five other provinces.¹

In A.D. 856 (Seikō 3, VI 14) the same Emperor requested 265 famous priests to read the *Issaikyō*, which had been copied, in *Tōdaiji* and 13 other temples to which he sent officials of the fifth rank as messengers. This ceremony took place three times during seven days. That, too, was a measure against the plague.²

In A.D. 875 (Jōkwan 17, I 28), when one night a serious fire destroyed the *Reinen-in* and 54 other buildings including a valuable library and many other treasures, only the *Issaikyō*, copied in fulfilment of His Majesty's vow, was completely saved.³

In the same year (III 28) Seiwa Tennō sent the *Dentō-daihōshi* Anshū (安宗) to the *Maitreya* shrine *Mirokuji* in *Dazaifu* (Tsukushi) (i.e. the Buddhist temple erected in A.D. 741 by order of the Emperor Shōmu in the compound of the *Hachiman* shrine in *Usa*, Buzen province) in order to dedicate 3432 kwan of the *Issaikyō*, 2214 kwan of Mahāyāna sūtras (*daijōkyō*), 50 kwan of Mahāyāna vinayas (*daijō-ritsu*), 530 kwan of Hīnayāna vinayas (*shōjō-ritsu*) and 167 kwan of sūtras not included in the catalogue (*rokugwai-kyō*). Previously the late *Dajō-daijin* Fujiwara Ason Yoshifusa (A.D. 804—872), the first *Sesshō* (Regent), with whom the great power of the Fujiwara House had commenced, wishing to rule and pacify the people in a peaceful manner, had ordered the copying of the *Issaikyō* in Buzen province in honour of *Hachiman Daibosatsu* (i.e. *Usa Hachiman*, of the famous shrine in *Usa*, Buzen province),⁴ and he had caused the late *Dentō-daihōshi* *Gyōkyō* (行教) (a *Sanron* priest, who in Jōkwan 1, A.D. 859, stayed there for ninety days and after his return built

¹ Ibid, Ch. XVI, p. 548.

² Ibid, Ch. XVI, p. 554.

³ *Sandai jitsuroku*, Ch. XXVII, p. 408.

⁴ Cf. above, Ch. VI, B, § 5, A, p. 219.

the Hachiman shrine on *Otoko-yama*, S. of Kyōto, the celebrated *Iwashimizu Hachimangū*)¹ to examine the work. As it was then finished, the Emperor sent Anshū in order that he might celebrate the ceremony of sacrifice and dedication (*kuyō anchi*) together with the *Dazaifu* authorities.²

In A.D. 881 (Genkei 5, XII 4) Seiwa In (i.e. Fujiwara no Aki-ko, Yoshifusa's daughter, consort of Montoku Tennō and mother of Seiwa Tennō, who lived in that temple),³ held a *shūki gosai-e* (周忌御齋會) in *Engakuji* (圓覺寺), i.e. she gave a vegetarian entertainment to the monks on behalf of the soul of her son Seiwa Tennō on the first anniversary of his death. After he had abdicated in A.D. 876 (XI 29) he had lived as a monk in that temple, which was situated at Awada, Atago district, Yamashiro province. Originally it had been the mountain abode of the *Dajō daijin* Fujiwara no Yoshisuke, who died in A.D. 867; the Emperor first called the temple *Awada-in* (粟田院), but when he made it his residence and place of worship, he gave it the name of *Engakuji*.⁴ During his reign the *Dajō Tennō* (Seiwa Tennō) had copied the *Issaikyō*, and after his death his mother sacrificed it on behalf of his soul in the presence of all the princes and nobles of the Court in the same monastery where he had lived in retirement.⁵

In A.D. 890 (Kwampyō 2, XII 26) the *Dajō-daijin* Fujiwara no Mototsune summoned the *Tendai zasu* Enchin (圓珍) (Chishō Daishi, A.D. 814—891, who in A.D. 858 introduced from China the mystic *Jimon* branch of the *Tendai* sect), to the capital in order that he should perform ceremonies. At the same time he was appointed *Shōsōzu*, but in a memorial to the Throne he stated that he was very ill and could not leave home. Moreover

¹ Washio, p. 205, s.v. *Gyōkyō*

² *Sandai jitsuroku*, Ch. xxvii, p. 411.

³ *Kokushu dayiten*, p. 1525, 2, s.v. *Seiwa-In*.

⁴ *Sandai jitsuroku*, Ch. xxxviii, pp. 549 sqq., Yoshida Tōgo, I, p. 56, 2.

⁵ *Sandai jitsuroku*, Ch. xl, p. 573

the *Issaikyō*, copied by the former *Tendai ajari* (Saichō, Dengyō Daishi) had not yet been revised, although the Shintō gods (*myōjin*) of the Large and Small *Hieizan* by means of several manifestations had expressed the wish therefor. It was necessary to perform *tendoku* of those *sūtras* and to pray for the Emperor. Moreover the former *Dayō-dayūn* (Fujiwara no Yoshifusa) had ordered the monks of that mountain to copy the *Issaikyō*. When he, Enchin, was in China, he had received fifty *kwan* of *sūtras* from a man of Yang-cheu; these and many other texts had to be copied, for the ancient Chinese catalogue of the K'ai-yuen era (A.D. 713—741) (Nanjō No. 1485) had contained more than 4000 *kwan* (or even, according to Nanjō, 5048).¹

In A.D. 953 (Tenryaku 7, VIII) the *Daizōkyō* was again copied and presented to the Emperor Murakami (Suzaku Tennō died the previous year). According to the *Gukwanshō* the number of *kwan* was still 5048, but the *Fuso ryakki* speaks of an offering (*kuyō*) of the *Issai-kyōron* (一切經論, "All *sūtras* and abhidharma's"), consisting of 5375 *kwan*. Twenty six *kwan* of *sūtras*, not mentioned in the Index, were copied by order of the Empress Dowager.²

In A.D. 1011 (Kwankō 8, V 21) the Court nobles (*kuge*) sacrificed (*kuyō*) (the *Genkō Shakusho* says "praised", *kyōsan*) the *Issaikyō* in the *Seiryōden* of the *Ichijō-in*, a month later the Emperor Ichijō abdicated and died.³ He lived in this palace, because the Imperial Palace had burned down in AD 1001 (Chōhō 3, XI 18).⁴ The term *kyōsan* (慶讃) "to praise respectfully" is used in the same sense as *rakugyō* (落慶) and *rakugyō kuyō*, praise and offering on account of the completion (*rakusei*, 落成) of newly built or repaired Buddhist temples.⁵

¹ *Fusō ryakki*, Ch. xxii, p. 640

² *Genkō Shakusho*, Ch. xxv, p. 1070; *Fusō ryakki* Ch. xxv, p. 716.

³ *Genkō Shakusho*, Ch. xxv, p. 1080; *Fusō ryakki*, Ch. xxviii, p. 768.

⁴ *Fusō ryakki*, Ch. xxvii, p. 761, *Kokushū dayūten*, p. 174, 3 s.v. *Ichijō-in*.

⁵ *Dayūten*, p. 372, 1, s.v. *keisan*, p. 250, 2, s.v. *kyōsan*, also written

or other works, as in this case the copying of the Canon. Thus the terms *kyōsan-shiki* (式) or *rakugyō-shiki* are used in the sense of dedicatory ceremonies.¹

In A.D. 1021 (Chian 1, VIII 1) the *Issaikyō* was transported from Fujiwara no Michinaga's private chapel to the Imperial (or his own) *Sūtra Library* (御經藏, *Go kyōzō*).²

In A.D. 1069 (Enkyū 1, V 28) the former *Dajō-daijin* (Fujiwara no Yorimichi, A.D. 992—1074, Michinaga's eldest son and successor) began to celebrate an *Issaikyō-e* in the *Byōdō-in* (平等院), the *Tendai* shrine at Uji, S. of Kyōto, which had been his villa until A.D. 1052, when he became a monk and made it into a temple. From that time this was a yearly festival, called also *Daizō-e* (大藏會), at which a copy of the *Issaikyō* was sacrificed (*Issaikyō kuyō*). The *Rinzai* priest Shiren, who wrote the *Genkō Shakusho* states that up to his time it had never been intermitted.³

In A.D. 1075 (Shōhō 2, Intercal IV) twenty famous priests of all sects were invited to the Palace, in order to perform *tendoku* of the *Issaikyō*.⁴

In A.D. 1103 (Kōwa 5, VII 13) the *Daizōkyō*, written with golden characters, was dedicated and praised (*kyōsan*) in *Hōshōji* (法勝寺), the large *gogwanji* of Shirakawa Tennō, erected in the Shōryaku era (A.D. 1077—1081) at Kyōto.⁵ Eight days previously a similar *Issaikyō-e* was held in *Hiyoshi jinja* and made an annual festival.⁶ In A.D. 1110 (Tennin 3, V) the Emperor Horikawa visited *Hōshōji*, in order to be present at the performance of the *Daizōkyō kyōsan*.⁷ In A.D. 1118 (IX) a ceremony of this

¹ *Dayiten*, p. 1777, 1, s v *rakugyō kuyō*.

² *Nihon kiryaku, kōhen*, Ch. XIII, p. 1127.

³ *Genkō Shakusho*, Ch. xxv, p. 1089, *Fusō ryakki*, Ch. xxix, p. 814.

⁴ *Fusō ryakki*, Ch. xxx, p. 825.

⁵ *Genkō Shakusho*, Ch. xxvi, p. 1097.

⁶ *Dayiten*, p. 63, 3, s v. *Issaikyō-e*, quoting the *Temmei shiryaku*, 天明史略, II

⁷ *Genkō Shakusho*, Ch. xxvi, p. 1098.

kind took place in the Shintō shrine of *Kumano*, in the presence of the *Dajōkwō*, Shirakawa Tennō (who had abdicated in A.D. 1086 and lived until A.D. 1129).¹ In A.D. 1128 (X 21) the *Dajōkwō* Toba Tennō went to *Iwashimizu*, where a *Daizōkyō kyōsan* ceremony was performed in the great *Hachuman* shrine.² In A.D. 1134 (Chōshō 3, II) the same ex-Emperor attended the highly meritorious *kyōzō* (i.e. *Daizōkyō kyōsan*) festival of *Hōshōji*, where the canon, written in golden characters, was sacrificed. Evidently the date of this annual temple ceremony varied, for in A.D. 1103 it took place in the seventh month, and in A.D. 1110 in the fifth. The manner of copying varied also, for in this passage the *Genkō Shakusho* adds that "ordinary matters were not written, but the *gāthās* were copied many times".³ Shiren's statement, quoted above, is evidence of its having been continued until the fourteenth century.

In A.D. 1272 (Bun'ei 9, X 25) the *Gion Issaikyō-e* was held, attended by prominent officials. The usual day of this ceremony, however, was III 15.⁴ The *Gion* shrine was a Shintō temple, made into a Buddhist sanctuary by *Ryōbu-Shintō* under the name of *Gionji*. It became a dependant shrine of *Kōfukuji* and in later times of *Enryakuji*.

In A.D. 1280 (Kōan 3, III 13) the *Kamo Issaikyō-e* was held together with the beginning of the Vernal *mido(k)kyō* ("August *sūtra* reading"). It took place in one of the two famous Shintō shrines of *Kamo*,⁵ to the North of Kyōto, the gods of which (Tamayori-hime and her son Wake-ikazuchi) were selected by Kwammu Tennō as protective deities of his new capital *Heiankyō* (Kyōto, A.D. 794).⁶ From the beginning of the twelfth century

¹ L I, p. 1099

² L I, p. 1100.

³ L I, p. 1101

⁴ *Zoku Shugushō*, Vol I, Ch. III, p. 86.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol I, Ch. v, p. 140.

⁶ Papinot, s v *Kamo*.

the *Issaikyō* festivals were often held in Shintō sanctuaries (Hiyoshi, Kumano, Iwashimizu, Gion, Kamo).

In the seventh month of Kōan 4 (A.D. 1281), when Japan was in great danger on account of the attack of the Mongols, and many Buddhist services were held by the Imperial House in the great Buddhist and Shintō shrines, from VII 26 during seven days in the Hachiman temple of Iwashimizu *tendoku* was performed of the *Sonshō-daranu* (尊勝陀羅尼) (based upon the *Sonshōkyō*, Nos 348—352, esp. No. 351), the *Issaikyō*, 100 *bu* of the *Daihannyakyō*, and the *Ninnōkyō*, by 500 Vinaya priests (*rissō*) led by the *dōshū* Shi-en (思圓) (Eison) of the *Kairitsu* shrine *Saidaiji* in Nara.¹

In A.D. 1283 (Kōan 6, III 3) there was an *Issaikyō-e* in the "August Chapel of Uji" (宇治御堂), probably the *Byōdō-in*.² As a thanksgiving service for the war-god Hachiman's divine protection against the Mongols the *Mahāyāna sūtras* (*Dayōkyō*, 大乘經, five *bu*, Nanjō Nos. 1—125) were read by means of the *tendoku* system by the Vinaya priest Shi-en of *Saidaiji* and a *hō-e* was held in the great shrine of Iwashimizu, in the presence of the *Shin-in* (the ex-Emperor-Kameyama), in A.D. 1284 (Kōan 7, IV 4); in A.D. 1299 (II 25) the same ceremony took place.³ The *Dayō-e* of *Hōshōji* (法勝寺) is mentioned in A.D. 1284 (XII 17).⁴

In A.D. 1287 (Kōan 10) the *Issaikyō-e* of the *Byōdō-in* at Uji was held on III 4 and led by the *Keishū* (家司) Fujiwara no Kanenaka.⁵

In A.D. 1290 (Shōō 3, III 15) "on account of the defilement of the Empire the *Rinjisai* of Iwashimizu and the *Issaikyō-e* of Gion were postponed".⁶ Afterwards the festivals of the Canon

¹ *Zoku Shugushō*, Vol. I, Ch. v (Go Uda Tennō), p. 147.

² L I., Ch. vi, p. 161.

³ L I., Ch. vi, p. 174, Ch. xi, p. 323.

⁴ L I., Ch. vi, p. 187.

⁵ L I., Ch. vii, p. 208.

⁶ L I., Ch. ix, p. 256

are not (or very rarely) mentioned in the *Zoku Shigushō* (A.D. 1259—1779), although we gather from Shiren's statement, given above, that in A.D. 1321—1323 the ceremony of the *Byōdō-in* was yet performed.

With regard to the priests who copied or revised the *Issaikyō*, in Washio's *Nihon bukke jummei jisho* the canon is mentioned in the following biographies.

In A.D. 673 (here Hakuho 2, i.e. A.D. 674, instead of Temmu Tennō's second year) the *Sanron* priest Chizō (智藏) of *Hōryūji* copied the *Issaikyō* in *Kawara-dera*. This was the first time that the Canon was copied in Japan.¹

The famous Chinese *Kairitsu* priest Kanshin (鑑真) (A.D. 688—763), mentioned above, who after Shōmu Tennō's death (A.D. 756, V 2) by order of Kōken Tennō had erected a *kaidan* (戒壇) or "Commandments-altar" and given her the *Bosatsu-daikai* or "Great Commandments of the Bodhisattvas (as he had done to her Father and his Court), revised the *Issaikyō* in *Todaiji*, although he had lost his eyesight and had to recite it from memory! It was also he who had the first books printed in Japan, namely the *sandaibu* or "three great works" of the *kairitsu* or *Vinaya*, written by the *Nanzan risshi* (南山律師), i.e. Tao-suen, 道宣 (A.D. 596—667), founder of the *Vinaya* sect in China. Kanshin had arrived in Japan A.D. 753 (XII 20), when he was already 65 years old! He had brought many important books with him, especially some concerning the *Vinaya*, e.g. Tao-suen's works.²

The first Japanese monk, who obtained the *Issaikyō* in China and brought it to Japan, was the *Hossō* priest Gembō (玄昉) († 746), who stayed in China from A.D. 717 to 734. This was a present from the Chinese T'ang Emperor Huen-tsung (玄宗, alias Ming hwang), who, admiring his great knowledge, included

¹ Washio, p. 799, 1, s.v. *Chizō*.

² Washio, p. 157, 2, p. 158, 2 s.v. *Kanshin*, cf. *Dayten*, p. 646, 2, s.v. *Sanda gobu*.

him among the priests of the three ranks (三品) and gave him a purple *kāshāya*. He dedicated the *Issaikyō* to *Kōfukuji*, the famous *Hossō* sanctuary in Nara.¹

Mention is made above of the *Sanron* priest Gyōkyō (行教), who in A.D. 859 had the supervision, when Yoshifusa ordered the copying of the *Issaikyō* as an offering to Usa-Hachiman for the peace of the Court and the country.²

In A.D. 863 (Jōkwan 5), when a severe pestilence and famine depopulated the country, in a memorial to the Throne the *Tendai* priest Ken-ei (賢永) of the *kokubunji* of Hōki province requested the Emperor Seiwa to have images painted of the 13000 Buddhas (dealt with above, Ch. VIII, § 19, pp. 379, 386 with regard to the *Butsumyō sange*) and *Kwannon*, and to have a copy made of the *Issaikyō*. At the same time he asked an Imperial gift of a hundred *koku* of cereals for the *kokubunji*, to be supplied yearly by the governors of the provinces. His request was granted.³

The *Tendai* priest Sathō (西法) (A.D. 1054—1126) of *Enryakuji* also strove to save the country from disease and starvation. He left his monastery and travelled throughout the country, preaching everywhere and repairing chapels and pagodas, and exhorting the monks to copy the *Issaikyō*, in order to put an end to the prevailing plague.⁴

That the *Shingon* sect, too, attached great importance to the blessing power of the *Issaikyō* is clear from the fact that the *Shingon* priest Gyōshō (行勝) (A.D. 1167—1254) successfully requested the Emperor to sacrifice a copy of the Canon to the *Shingon* shrine of *Amano* in Kawachi province.⁵

¹ Washio, p. 308, s.v. *Gembō*

² Washio, p. 205, s.v. *Gyōkyō*

³ Washio, p. 283, 1, s.v. *Ken-ei*.

⁴ Washio, p. 393, 1, s.v. *Sathō*

⁵ *Himitsu jirin*, p. 171, 2, s.v. *Gyōshō*. Washio, p. 208, 2, does not mention this fact

In the Katei era (A.D. 1235—1238) Tankyō (湛慶), Unkyō's son (the famous sculptors of Buddhist images, known in the world as Tankei and Unkei), at the request of Fujiwara no Yoritsune (from A.D. 1226 to 1244 Sei-i-taishōgun, the power being in the hands of the Hōjō's) made a life-size picture of Śākyamuni, Yoritsune's "*Issaikyō-kuyō no honzon*", i.e. his principal saint to whom he had sacrificed the *Issaikyō* ¹

Six centuries later the Tendai priest Ryō-a (了阿) (A.D. 1773—1844) thrice perused the *Issaikyō*, ² but offerings of the Canon and the ceremonies devoted to it were not mentioned after the 13th and 14th centuries.

¹ Washio, p. 786, 1, s.v. *Tankyō*.

² Washio, p. 1198, 1, s.v. *Ryō-a*.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE LOTUS SŪTRA (HOKKEYŌ, MYŌHŌ-RENGEKYŌ) AND ITS FESTIVALS. THE KWANZEONGYŌ (FUMONBON, CH. XXV OF THE LOTUS SŪTRA).

§ 1 *Translations, commentaries and works on miracles, written by Indian, Chinese, Korean, and Japanese priests.*

A. *Chinese translations of the fifth and sixth centuries.*

Of the list of translations of the Lotus *sūtra*, given above (Ch. I, § 2, p. 6) only Kumārajīva's text (Nanjō No. 134) has always been in frequent use in China and Japan. It is noteworthy that neither Huen-tsang nor I-tsing nor any other great translator of later times (except Jñānagupta and Dharmagupta, A D. 601) deemed it necessary to give a new version of this celebrated text. As to the *Kwannongyō* (Ch. XXV of the Lotus *sūtra*), No. 137 consists of Kumārajīva's prose and Jñānagupta's poetry (the *gāthās*) The title of the former's translation of the Lotus *sūtra* is *Myōhō rengekyō*, 妙法蓮華經 (7 fasc., 28 ch.); it was written in A.D. 402—412.

In A.D. 427 the Chinese priest Chi-yen (智嚴), a companion of Fah-hien on his pilgrimage to India, translated the *Hokke sammatkyō*, 法華三昧經, "*Sūtra on the Meditation on the Lotus*" (cf. above, *Hokke sembō*, Ch. VIII, § 18, pp. 357, 362).

In A.D. 508 Ratnamatī (勤那摩提) (寶意), together with Sāng-lang (僧朗) translated the commentary on the Lotus *sūtra* (Nanjō No. 1233) by Vasubandhu (天親, 世親, Asaṅga's

younger brother, who probably lived about A.D. 280—360).¹ In A.D. 508—535 another translation of the same work appeared, written by Bodhiruci I, together with T'an-lin (曇林) and others (Nanjō 1232). The title of the latter work is *Myōhō renekyō ubadaisha* (*upadeśa*, 優液提舍, translated into *rongi*, 論議, "śāstras and discussions"); in that of the former the character *ron*, 論, is found before *ubadaisha* (*śāstropadeśa*)

A Tantric work on "the ceremonial rules for complete meditation upon and knowledge of the King of *Sūtras*, the *Saddharma pundarīka*", 成就妙法蓮華經王瑜伽觀智儀軌, *Jōju Myōhō rene kyō-o yuga kwanchi giki*, *Saddharma-pundarīka-sūtrarāja-siddhi-yoga-dhyāna-jñāna-kalpa* (1 fasc.) was translated by Amoghavajra, the great propagator of the Tantric doctrine in China, between A.D. 746 and 771 (Nanjō No. 1388).

§ 1, B. *Commentaries on the Lotus sūtra, written by Chinese priests of the fifth, sixth and seventh centuries.*

The first Chinese commentary on the Lotus sūtra, entitled *Hokkekyō-sho* (疏, "commentary") (2 fasc.),² was written in A.D. 432 (Yuen-kia 9) of the Early Sung dynasty by Tao-shāng (道生), a disciple of Kumārajīva, one of the "Four Saints of Kwan-chung" (Shensi and adjacent regions) and of the "Eighteen Sages of Lu-shan" (廬山, the mountain near Kiukiang-fu, Kiangsi province, famous for the White Lotus temple erected there by Hwui-yuen, 慧遠, who lived A.D. 334—416 and who in A.D. 390 (VII 28) with 123 other persons began to worship Amitābha).³

This was followed by the commentary (註), written by Liu-k'iu

¹ Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, II, p. 65.

² Jap Suppl. of the Canon, 乙 XXIII, 4.

³ Matsumoto, *Miroku jōdo-ron*, Ch. I, pp. 9 sq. About Tao shāng cf. *Dayu* III, p. 3449, 3 s.v. *Dōshō*.

(劉虬) of the Ts'i dynasty (A.D. 479—502), who lived A.D. 436—495¹ (8 fasc.) and by that of Fah-yun (法雲), one of the "Three Great Priests of the Liang dynasty" (A.D. 502—557), who lived A.D. 467—529 (written between A.D. 502 and 529, 8 fasc., 義記).²

A commentary on the 14th chapter of the *sūtra* (*Anrakugyō-bon*), entitled *Hokkekyō anrakugyō gi* (安樂行義) (1 fasc., Nanjō No. 1547), was written in the Ch'en dynasty (A.D. 557—581) by Chi-i's famous teacher Hwui-szē (慧思) (Nanyō tashi, 南嶽大師), the third patriarch of the *T'ien-t'ai* school, who lived A.D. 514—577.

These were, however, only preliminary works, and it was Chi-ché ta-shi (Chi-i, 智者大師, 智顗, A.D. 531—597), the great founder of the *T'ien-t'ai* sect, so often mentioned in this book, who in his oral explanations, recorded by his disciple Kwan-ting (灌頂, A.D. 561—632) made this *sūtra* the principal text of his doctrine and one of the principal texts of the Canon. These three large commentaries (Nanjō Nos. 1534, 1536 and 1538, *Myōhō renekyō gengi* (玄義), "mystic meaning", *mongu* (文句), "text", and *Maha-shikwan* (摩訶止觀), "Great Meditation and Knowledge", are the *Tendai sandaibu*, 天台三大部, or "Three Great Works of the *T'ien-t'ai* sect" (all three 20 fasc.; No. 1536 spoken in A.D. 587 and its record revised in A.D. 629, No. 1538 spoken in A.D. 594).

In the eighth century commentaries on these three works were written by a famous *T'ien-t'ai* priest, Chan-jan³ (湛然), the ninth patriarch of the sect, who lived A.D. 711—782 (T'ang dynasty, *Hokke gengi shakusen*, 釋籤, *Hokke monguki*, 記, *Shikwan bugyōden guketsu*, 止觀輔行傳弘訣; and *Shikwan girei*, 義例, Nanjō Nos. 1535, 1537, 1539, 1541; 20, 30, 40 and 2 fasc.).

¹ *Dayu* III, p. 4479, 3, s.v. *Ryūkyū*

² Jap. Supp. of the Canon, XLII, 2. *Daizui* III, p. 4075, 1, s.v. *Hō-un*.

³ *Dayūten*, p. 1121, 2; *Dayu*, III, p. 3277, 3, s.v. *Tannen*.

Chi-ché ta-shī himself compiled the *Hokke sammai sangi* (法華三昧懺僕) or "Ceremonial rules (*kalpa*) for repentance (*san*) based on *samādhi* (deep meditation) on the Lotus (*sūtra*)" (1 fasc., 5 ch.; Nanjō No. 1510) (between A.D. 589 and 597). "Additional ceremonial rules" of the same kind were given by Chan-jan (4 leaves, Nanjō No. 1511, prior to A.D. 782).

Two commentaries, given orally by Chi-ché ta-shī and recorded by his disciple Kwan-ting (before A.D. 632), deal only with the mystic meaning of Ch XXV, the *Kwannongyō* (*Fumonbon*), that is Nanjō No. 1555 (*Kwannon gengi*, 觀音玄義) and No. 1557 (*Kwannon gisho*, 觀音義疏). About A.D. 1020 these two works were explained by the T'ien-t'ai priest Chi-li (知禮) in Nanjō Nos. 1556 and 1558 (*Kwannon gengi-ki*, 記, and *Kwannon gisho-ki*), who also wrote "Ceremonial rules (*kalpa*) for worshipping the Lotus sūtra" (*Rai Hokkekyō gishuki*, 禮法華經僕式, Nanjō No. 1518, 2 leaves).

The next great commentator of the Sui dynasty (A.D. 581—618) was Kih-tsang (吉藏), also called Hu (胡, Mongol) Kih-tsang and Kia-siang Ta-shī, 嘉祥大師, "The Great Master of the Kia-siang monastery", the founder of the *San-lun* (*Sanron*) sect in China, who lived A.D. 549—623. He wrote four commentaries on the Lotus sūtra (*Hokke genron*, 玄論; *gisho*, 義疏, *yūi*, 遊意; *tōryaku*, 統略) and one on Vasubandhu's commentary (*Hokkekyō-ronsho*, 論疏) (10, 12, 2, 6 and 3 fasc.). The *genron* was his last work, and differs a little from his former writings by reason of the influence of Chi-ché ta-shī's explanations. In the beginning of the Ta-yeh era (A.D. 605—618) he made 2000 copies of the sūtra, a very meritorious work.¹

Kw'ei-ki (窺基), alias Ts'zě-ngăn Ta-shī (Jion Daishi, 慈恩大師, the "Great Master of the Ts'zě-ngăn monastery") (in Shensi province), (A.D. 632—682), in China the founder of a

¹ *Dayten*, p. 242, 2, s.v. *Kichizō*, p. 189, 3, s.v. *Kajō*, *Daizui*, I, p. 654, 2, s.v. *Kichizō* Jap. Suppl. of the Canon, XLII, 3, 4, 5, XLIII, 1.

third great sect (the *Fah-siang*, 法相, *Hossō* sect), explained the Lotus *sūtra* from his point of view. He wrote an enormous number of works, four of which deal with this subject (e.g. the *Hokke gengan*, 玄贊).¹

§ 1, C. *Commentaries based on Chi-ché ta-shi's interpretations of the Lotus sūtra, written by Chinese T'ien-t'ai priests of the Sung, Yuen and Ming dynasties (10th—15th cent. A.D.).*

Under the Northern Sung dynasty (A.D. 960—1127) Tao-wei (道威) based his commentary (入疏) on Chi-ché ta-shi's *Mongu* (Nanjō No. 1536) and Chan-jan's *Mongu-ki* (Nanjō No. 1537). This work was printed in Japan in Genroku 10 (A.D. 1697) (12 fasc.).² Three commentaries were written on it by the Japanese *Tendai* priest Kwōken, 光謙, who lived A.D. 1652—1739.

A work of the Southern Sung dynasty (A.D. 1127—1279), Sheu-lun (守倫)'s *Hokkekyō kwachū* (科註), was printed in China in A.D. 1306 and in Japan in A.D. 1678 (Empō 6) (12 fasc.).³

Two other works of the same title appeared under the Yuen dynasty (A.D. 1295) and in the Ming time (Ying-loh era, A.D. 1403—1425); they were written by Su Sih-shen (徐習善) (8 fasc.) and by Yih-ju (一如) (of the Ying-loh era A.D. 1403—1425), the author of Nanjō No. 1621, the Concordance of numerical terms of the Canon (7 fasc.). In Japan they were printed in Genroku 7 (A.D. 1694) and Genroku 3 (A.D. 1690).⁴

¹ *Dayūten*, p. 888, 2, s.v. *Jion*, p. 237, 1, s.v. *Kiki*, *Dayū*, II, p. 2054, 1 s.v. *Jionji*, I, p. 624, 1, s.v. *Kiki*. His portrait, *Kokkwa* No. 114, V (10th cent.). *Jap. Suppl. of the Canon*, LII, 4, 5 There are four commentaries on the *Hokke gengan*.

Jap. Suppl. of the Canon, XLVII, 1—3. *Dayū* III, p. 4096, 2, s.v. *Hokkekyō nyūsho* (prov. *nissō*)

³ *Jap. Suppl. of the Canon*, XLVIII, 2—4 *Dayū* III, p. 4095, 1, s.v. *Hokkekyō kwachū*

⁴ *Jap. Suppl. of the Canon*, XLVIII, 5, XLIX 1—3 *Dayū*, I.I.

Another Ming author, Chi-hiuh (智旭), a very prolific T'ien-t'ai writer who lived A.D. 1599—1654, wrote three works on this subject (*Hokkekyō egi*, 會義, 16 fasc.; *rinkwan*, 綸貫, 1 fasc.; *gengi setsuyō*, 玄義節要, 2 fasc.).¹

§ 1, D. Chinese and Japanese works on miracles ascribed by tradition to the protective power of the Lotus sūtra.

About A.D. 650—710 the Chinese T'ang priest Hwui-siang (惠詳) wrote a work of 10 fasciculi, entitled "Traditions about the widely praised Lotus" (*Gusan Hokkeden*, 弘贊法華傳), which in A.D. 942 was printed in Korea. And about A.D. 713—756 (in the K'ai-yuen and T'ien-pao eras) Siang Fah-shi (祥法師) wrote the "Records of traditions about the Lotus sūtra" (*Hokkekyō denki*, 法華經傳記) (10 fasc.), which in A.D. 1600 (Keichō 5) was translated and printed in Japan by Enchi (圓智).²

In the Southern Sung dynasty Tsung-hiao (宗曉) (A.D. 1151—1214) wrote a work entitled "Records of manifest favourable answers (to prayers) of the Lotus" (*Hokke ken-ō roku*, 顯應錄, 4 fasc.), which with Hwui-siang's *Gusan Hokkeden*, and the *Kaitōden guroku* (海東傳弘錄), written by the Korean priest 眞淨 (*Shinjō*), formed the base of the *Hokke reigenden* (靈驗傳) or "Traditions about miraculous manifestations of the divine power of the Lotus", composed by the Korean priest 了圓 (*Ryō-en*) and reprinted in A.D. 1534 (Kia-tsing 13) by Miao-hwui (妙慧).³

Two similar works were written in Japan, entitled *Nihon koku Hokkekyō denki* (傳記) "Records of traditions about the Lotus

¹ Jap. Suppl. of the Canon, L, 2 (*rinkwan*). *Dayu* III, p. 3303 3 s.v. *Chikyoku*.

² *Dayu* III, p. 4096, 2, s.v. *Hōkekyō denki*. Jap. Suppl. of the Canon, 乙 VII, 2 and XXII, 1.

³ *Dayu* III, p. 4106, 1, Jap. Suppl. of the Canon, 乙 VII, 4

sūtra in Japan" (3 fasc., Chōkyū era, A.D. 1040—1044, by Chingen, 鎮源, and printed in A.D. 1717 by Kwō-ei, 光榮, a pupil of the *Tendai* priest Kwōken, 光謙, who lived A.D. 1652—1739 and explained Tao-wei's *Hokke nyūsho*, pron. *nissho*) and *Honchō hokkeden* (本朝法華傳), "Traditions about the Lotus in Japan", written by the *Nichiren* priest Nissei (日政), the founder of *Zuikwōji* in Yamashiro, who lived A.D. 1623—1668.¹

A *Honchō Hokke kenki* (驗記), "History of the miraculous manifestations of the Lotus in Japan", written by the *Hieizan* priest Yakugō (藥恒), is mentioned in the *Fusō ryakki*. There an event of Ninna 4 (A.D. 888) is related. The *Fusō ryakki* itself dates from about A.D. 1150.² It also quotes a *Hokke kenki* written by Chigen (智源) *Hōshū* (not mentioned by Washio), with regard to the saint Zōga (増賀, A.D. 917—1003), a famous *Tendai* priest and devout reader of the *Hokkekyō*.³

§ 1, E. *Commentaries on the Lotus sūtra, written by Shōtoku Taishi and Japanese priests of the Tendai, Nichiren and Shingon sects.*

In A.D. 615 (the 23rd year of the Empress Suiko's reign) the great Shōtoku Taishi (A.D. 572—622) completed his *Hokkekyō gisho* (義疏), based mainly upon Fah-yun (法雲)'s commentary of the Liang dynasty (written between A.D. 502 and 529, *Hokkekyō giki*). In A.D. 772 (Hōki 3) the *Kegon* priest Kaimyō (戒明) and seven others went to China and brought this book as a present to the Chinese priest Ling-yiu (靈祐) of *Lung-hing-szē* (誰興寺). It consists of four *kwan*, and with his two other commentaries (*gisho* on the *Shōmangyō* and *Yumakyō*, Nanjō Nos. 59 and 146) was called *Taishi sankyōsho*, "The three

¹ *Dayu* III, p. 4094, 2, s.v. *Hōkekyō*.

² *Fusō ryakki*, Ch. xxii, p. 634

³ *Ibid.*, Ch. xxvii, p. 762 (Chōhō 5, A.D. 1003).

sūtra commentaries of the Crown-prince". After having been printed in A.D. 1247, 1294, 1655 and 1682, it was included in the *Dai Nihon Bukkyō zensho* or "Complete Buddhist works of Great Japan", published in Taishō 3 (A.D. 1914) Commentaries on it were written by the *Kegon* priest Shūshō (宗性) of Tōdaiji (about A.D. 1260) (*Hokkekyō gikushō*, 義記抄, 2 kwan) and by the *Kegon* priest Gyōnen (凝然) (A.D. 1240—1321) of Kaidan-in in Yamato (*Taishi Hokkeshō ekwōki*, 惠光記, acc. to Washio 90 kwan, acc. to the *Dayū* 60 kwan). The latter, who wrote an enormous number of books, also made extensive commentaries upon Shōtoku Taishi's works on the *Shōmangyō* (18 kwan) and the *Yuimakyō* (40 kwan).¹ Apparently the *Kegon* sect venerated the writings of Shōtoku Taishi especially and emphasized the value of his explanations.

Myō-ichi (明一) (A.D. 728—798), a learned priest of Tōdaiji, wrote a commentary on the *Saishōōkyō*, a *Hokkekyō ryakki* (略記, 4 ch.) and a *Hokke-ki* (記, 2 ch.), but his works are lost.²

Dengyō Daishi (Saichō) (傳教大師, 最澄) (A.D. 767—822), the celebrated founder of the *Tendai* sect in Japan, wrote several commentaries on the Lotus sūtra and Chi-ché ta-shi's works upon it (*Hokke gengi mondō*, 2 kwan; *Kenhokke gishō*, 8 kwan; *Hokke shoki*, 10 kwan; *Tendai mongu onshō*; *Shukwan mongu*; *Hokke shinyō*, 30 kwan; *Hokke shiki* etc).³

Chishō Daishi (Enchin) (智證大師, 圓珍) (A.D. 814—891), another great author who studied in China from A.D. 853 to 858 and after his return to Japan introduced the mystic *Jimon* (寺門) branch of the *Tendai* sect and built *Onjōji* (園城寺, *Mi-dera*, 三井寺, the famous rival of *Enryakuji* on *Hiei-zan*, the *sammon-ha*, 山門派), devoted more than a dozen works to the Lotus sūtra. Washio enumerates them all, but the *Dayū*

¹ *Dayū* III, p. 4095, 1, s v. *Hōkekyō gishō*, Washio, p. 215, 2, s v. *Gyōnen*.

² Washio, p. 1076, 2, s v. *Myō-ichi*

³ Washio, p. 403, 1, s v. *Saichō*.

mentions the *Nyū-shūngon-mon kō-en Hokke-gi*, 入眞言門講演法華僕, "Rules of the Lotus, explained as an introduction into the Tantric doctrine", a title which clearly indicates its mystic character.¹

Dōhan (道範) of *Shōchi-in* on *Kōyasan* (A.D. 1184—1252), a *Shūngon* priest of the 13th century, a very prolific author, wrote also a *Hokke ongī* (音義).²

In the second part of the seventeenth century, when, especially in the Genroku era (A.D. 1688—1704), under the Shōgunate of Tsunayoshi (A.D. 1680—1709), ancient Buddhist cults and ceremonies recovered new life and vigour and, as seen above (§ 1, C, p. 620), the Chinese commentaries on the Lotus *sūtra*, based upon Chi-ché ta-shi's works, were printed in Japan, the *Tendai* priest Shōkei (性慶) (A.D. 1667—1737) wrote four commentaries on this text (*Hokke Shakudai*, 釋題, 1 kwan; *Hokke ryakusho*, 略疏, 10 kwan; *Hokke nyūshū gi-en*, 30 kwan; *Hokke Shūshaku*, 20 kwan).³ Kwōken (光謙) (A.D. 1652—1739), who belonged to the same sect, wrote three commentaries on Tao-wei's work of the Northern Sung dynasty (入疏) and one on that of the Ming priest Chi-hiuh (會義) mentioned above (§ 1, C, p. 621) (*Hokke nyūsho (nisscho) kōroku*, 12 kwan, *Hokke egī ronroku* etc.), as well as extensive works on Chi-che ta-shi's *Shūkwan* (24 kwan) and *Mongu* (50 kwan). He also wrote an "Introductory explanation to the collection of wide-spread traditions about (the miraculous power of) the Lotus" (*Hokke gudenshū josetsu*) and an "Explanation of the meaning of (the chapter on the Buddha's) length of life".⁴

We see how the *Tendai* priests of that time evidently renewed the ancient glory of the Lotus. Of the *Nichiren* sect the priest Nissei (日政) (A.D. 1623—1668), mentioned already above as

¹ *Dayu* III, p. 4094, 2; Washio, pp. 98 sq., s.v. *Enchin*.

² Washio, p. 887, 1, s.v. *Dōhan*.

³ Washio, p. 596, 1, s.v. *Shōkei*.

⁴ Washio, p. 345, s.v. *Kōken*.

the author of the *Honchō hokkeden*, wrote also a "New commentary on the Lotus sūtra" (*shunchū*, 新註) (12 kwan), like Shōker's *ryakusho* based upon Chi-che ta-shi's explanations.¹ Of the *Shūngon* sect Ryōta (亮汰) (A.D. 1622—1680) made a study of the *Kwannongyō* and wrote a work entitled *Kwannongyō senchū* (選注, "selected commentaries", 3 kwan).²

A comparative work on the Lotus sūtra, containing the differences in reading of 17 kinds of the text of seven kwan and 59 of that of eight kwan, was published in A.D. 1840 (Tempō 1) by the *Tendai* priest Shū-en (宗淵) (alias Shin-a, 眞阿, A.D. 1786—1859), who gave himself the greatest trouble to find all these manuscripts by travelling about and visiting all the monasteries and temples where those precious relics of the past were preserved. He copied them carefully, and published not only the *Hokkekyō kōi* (考異) (2 kwan, comparative work), but also the *Sankehon Hokkekyō* (山家本, 8 kwan), with a *batsu* (跋) or writing in praise thereof at the end of the work by the *Tendai zasu*, the Imperial Prince Jōshin (承眞). This great collector of books (Shū-en), who built three libraries to contain his treasures, was much honoured by the great of Kyōto and Nikkō. And he deserved it for his great enthusiasm and activity for the world-wide fame of the Lotus!³

§ 2. Contents of the Lotus sūtra.

The contents of this famous Mahāyāna text, which was the principal sūtra of the *T'ien-t'ai* school and gradually obtained a predominant position in the Buddhism of China and Japan, are well-known through Burnouf's version entitled "Le Lotus de la

¹ *Dayu* III, p. 4094, 2, not mentioned in the list of his works given by Washio, p. 975, 2, s.v. *Nissei*.

² Washio, p. 1210, 2, s.v. *Ryōta*.

³ *Dayu* II, p. 2799, 1, s.v. *Shin-a*, III, p. 4095, 2, s.v. *Hokkekyō kōi*.

Bonne Loi", and Kern's translation in the *Sacred Books of the East* (Vol. XXI).

It may therefore suffice to point out some details of the work connected with the Tendai cults and ceremonies, and some differences of numeration between Kern's text and the Chinese translation of Kumārajīva (A.D. 402—412), which down to the present day has remained in constant use among the Chinese and Japanese Buddhists.

The Chinese text is divided into 8 *kwan* (卷), fasciculi, and 28 *hon* (品), chapters. Kern's Ch. XI contains Kumārajīva's Ch. XI and XII, which renders all the numbers of the following Chinese chapters different from those of the corresponding parts of the English version. This is the reason that the famous *Kwanzeon Bosatsu fumonbon* (普門品), devoted to Avalokiteśvara, is the 25th chapter of the Chinese and the 24th of the English text ("The all-sided one"). It is the first chapter of the 8th Chinese fasciculus, the further chapters of which are the *Darani-bon* (26th chapter, on magic formulae, Ch. XXI of the English text), the *Myōshōgon-ō honji-bon* (on King Śubhavyūha, 27th chapter, Kern's Ch. XXV, entitled "Ancient devotion", and, as the last chapter, the *Fugen Bosatsu kwanhotsu-bon*, "Encouragement of Samantabhadra" (28th chapter, Kern Ch. XXVI). Only the last sentence of Kern's final chapter (the 27th) about all the Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, disciples, devas, men, demons and Gandharvas applauding the words of the Lord, is found at the end of the Chinese Samantabhadra chapter (the 28th, the end of the work). As to the Buddha's committing and entrusting the *sūtra* to the "young men of good family", this is found, as always, in Kern's last chapter, but, curiously enough, it forms the 22nd chapter (*zokurui*, 囑累) of the Chinese version instead of the "spells", *dhāraṇī* (Kern Ch. XXI), given here in the 26th chapter. It is clear that, as Prof. Kern says (Introd., p. XXI), the succeeding chapters are later additions. Kumārajīva seems to have used older manuscripts than Dharmarakṣa I, by whom the earlier translation,

Nanjō No 138, was made (A.D. 266—313). There the epilogue is placed at the end of the *sūtra*, after the additional matter; in Kumārajīva's text it is still in its original position.

The *Hokkekyō* is sometimes called the *Ichikyō* (一乘經, *Ekayāna sūtra*), "*Sūtra of the Only Vehicle*", because the doctrine of the "Only Vehicle" (the *Buddhayāna*) is the main thesis of this *sūtra*. For this reason the *Tendai* sect is sometimes designated by the laudatory term of *Ichijō enshū*, 一乘圓宗, "The Perfect Sect of the Only Vehicle".¹ This doctrine, which is often mentioned in the Imperial Ordinances and memorials to the Throne, recorded in the Annals, is explained by the Buddha in the second chapter of the *sūtra* ("Skillfulness", *hōben-bon*, 方便品; *upāya*, *hōben*, means an expedient, a convenient way, namely of saving mankind). There the Lord, in answer to Śāriputra's question as to the reason that he so repeatedly extolled the skill, knowledge and preaching of the Tathāgata and praised the profundity of his Law, says that the exposition of the mystery of the Tathāgata is so difficult to understand, that he uses "hundred thousand various skilful means, such as divers interpretations, indications, explanations, illustrations". The sole object of his appearing in the world is to teach all creatures Tathāgata-knowledge. "By means of one sole vehicle, to wit, the Buddha-vehicle, Śāriputra, do I teach creatures the Law; there is no second vehicle, nor a third. This is the nature of the Law, Śāriputra, universally in the world, in all directions". "All Buddhas have preached the Law by means of only one vehicle, the Buddha-vehicle, which finally leads to omniscience". "There is but one vehicle, Śāriputra, and that is the Buddha-vehicle".²

With regard to the *Tendai* cults and ceremonies the following chapters of the *sūtra* are also of special importance.

Ch. VIII (五百弟子受記品, *Gohyaku deshi juki-bon*,

¹ *Daiziten*, p. 73, 2, s.v. *Ichijō*.

² Kern's translation, Ch. II, pp. 40 sqq.; *hōben-bon*.

"The Five hundred disciples receive the prophecy" (of their future Buddha-ship from the Buddha) ("Destiny of the 500 monks"). Although the *Rinzai* branch of the *Zen* sect was the propagator of the cult of the 500 Arhats in Japan, the celebrated priest Eisai, who in A.D. 1191 returned from China and began to preach the *Rinzai* doctrine, belonged originally to the Tendai sect and introduced the cult of the 500 Arhats directly from T'ien-t'ai-shan. There they were worshipped in a temple dedicated to them, and men deemed that they wandered about in the neighbourhood of the famous Rock Bridge and performed numberless miracles. It is no wonder that this T'ien-t'ai centre was also their chief place of worship, because in Ch. VIII of the Lotus *sūtra* the Buddha announces their future Buddhahood. In this way the Mahāyāna doctrine made them active preachers before they could attain the highest aim, Parinirvāṇa. With regard to this chapter and the 500 Arhats of T'ien-t'ai-shan we may refer the reader to the present writer's treatise on "*The Arhats in China and Japan*", Ch. II, §§ 7 and 16, pp. 26 and 36.

Ch. X (法師品, *Hōshi-bon*, "The Preacher"). Here supreme and perfect enlightenment is predicted by the Buddha to all those "who shall take, read, make known, recite, copy, and after copying always keep in memory and from time to time regard this Dharmaparyāya, even though it be but a single stanza thereof; to those who through that book shall feel veneration for the Tathāgatas, treat them with the respect due to Masters, honour, revere, worship them; to those who shall worship that book with flowers, incense, perfumed garlands, ointment, powder, clothes, umbrellas, flags, banners, music, etc., and with acts of reverence such as bowing and joining hands". The preacher of this *sūtra* shall always see the Lord, whether he be preaching or living in mountain caverns and studying his lesson; he shall be inspired by the Buddha.

Ch. XI (見寶塔品, *Ken-hōtō-bon*, "Apparition of a Stūpa"). Here a great *stūpa*, consisting of seven precious substances, arises

from the earth and appears in the sky, worshipped by all those present. The Buddha opens it and then the Buddha Prabhūtaratna (*Tahō*, 多寶) is seen sitting within the stūpa and is heard praising the Lord Śākyamuni. When about to be come completely extinct, this Buddha had declared that his stūpa would arise "wherever in any Buddha-field in the ten directions of space, in all worlds, the Dharmaparyāya of the Lotus of the True Law should be propounded", and that the Buddhas then preaching the Lotus must open the Stūpa containing the frame of his body and show it to the four classes of hearers.

Therefore in his stūpa *Tahō Butsu* is worshipped as the protector of the Lotus sūtra.

"Seated on a centifolious lotus, as large as a chariot yoked with four horses, surrounded and attended by many Bodhisattvas, Mañjuśrī, the prince royal, arose from the depths of the sea, from the abode of the Nāga king *Sāgara* (i.e. the Ocean)". He caused to appear from the sea and arise to the sky all the numberless Bodhisattvas, trained by him by expounding the Lotus sūtra, and the virtuous daughter of Sāgara, eight years of age, who understood it all and who, after presenting a most precious gem to the Buddha, in the presence of the whole assembly then became a male Bodhisattva and went to the South to preach the Law in the world Vimala (spotless).

Mañjuśrī and Maitreya, who are introduced speaking and uttering many stanzas in the Introductory chapter, are often addressed by the Buddha in other parts of the sūtra, and question him about divers matters or praise his Law

Ch XIII (勸持行品, *kwanyūgyō-bon*, "Encouragement to keep and put into practise" (this sūtra), Kern Ch. XII, "Exertion"). By regarding the Bodhisattvas the Buddha causes them to promise that they will endure and do all things to proclaim this sublime sūtra to the world and deliver his message. It is "the last sūtra proclaimed in the world, the most eminent of all my sūtras, which I have always kept and never divulged" (Ch. XIV, *anrakūgyō*, "Peaceful life").

In Ch XVI (如來壽量品, *Nyorai-juryō-bon*, "Duration of life of the Tathāgata", Kern Ch. XV) the Buddha preaches the eternity of his existence. He points out that his extinction is only a device, to induce mankind to follow his doctrine. "So am I the father of the world, the Self-born, the Healer, the Protector of all creatures. Knowing them to be perverted, infatuated and ignorant, I teach ultimate rest, not being myself at rest". This chapter is one of the so-called *shiyōbon* (四要品), "four important chapters" (of the Lotus *sūtra*); the three others are Ch. II (方便品, *hōben-bon*, devices, Kern Ch. II, "skilfulness", "able management, diplomacy", *upāyakauśalya*, of the leaders); Ch. XIV (*anrakugyō-bon*, Kern Ch. XIII, "Peaceful life"); Ch. XXV (*Kwanzeon Bosatsu fumonbon*, Kern Ch. XXIV, "Universal gate of Avalokiteśvara").¹ These are the *shiyōbon* of the *Tendai* sect; those of the *Hokke* sect of Nichiren (founded in A.D. 1253 and based upon this *sūtra*, are the *hōben*, *juryō*, *Nyorai jinriki* (如來神力, "Divine power of the Tathāgatas", Ch. XXI, Kern Ch. XX) and the *Darani-bon* ("Spells", Ch. XXVI, Kern Ch. XXI).²

The worship of the *sūtra*, as representing the Buddha himself and his disciples (well-known in Japan through the cult of the *Nichiren* sect), is preached in Ch. XVII (分別功德品, *bunbetsu kudoku-bon*, "the meritorious virtue of discrimination", Kern Ch. XVI, "Of piety"). "Though one be ever so good in disposition, much greater merit will he obtain who shall keep or write this *Sūtra*. A man should cause this to be written and have it well put together in a volume, he should always worship the volume with flowers, garlands, ointments, and constantly place near it a lamp filled with scented oil, together with full-blown lotuses and suitable oblations of *Michelia Champaka*. The man who pays such worship to the books will produce a mass of merit which cannot be measured".

¹ *Dayiten*, p. 685, 2, s.v. *shiyōbon*

² *Dayu*, III, p. 4094, 1, s.v. *Hōkekyō*.

The "meritoriousness of joyful acceptance" (*zuiki kudoku*, 隨喜功德) of this sūtra and the blessings obtained by it, and the "meritorious virtues of the priest" (who preaches this sūtra) (*hōshu kudoku*, 法師功德, Kern Ch. XVIII, "the advantages of a religious preacher", i.e. all the divine powers attained by him) are dealt with in the two following chapters, Ch. XVIII and XIX of Kumārajīva's translation.

In Ch. XXI, devoted to the "transcendent power of the Tathāgatas" (*Nyorai junriki*, 如來神力) we read that „he who keeps this Sūtra, the veritable Law, will fathom the mystery of the highest man; will soon comprehend what truth it was that was arrived at on the terrace of enlightenment. The quickness of his apprehension will be unlimited; like the wind he will nowhere encounter obstacles; he who keeps this exalted Sūtra knows the purport and interpretation of the Law". . . . "He resembles the moon and the sun; he illuminates all around him, and while roaming the earth in different directions he rouses many Bodhisattvas. The wise Bodhisattvas who, after hearing the enumeration of such advantages, shall keep this Sūtra after my complete extinction, will doubtless reach enlightenment".

In Ch. XXIII (the 22th of Kern's translation) (*Yaku-ō Bosatsu honji-bon*, 藥王菩薩本事品, "Ancient devotion of Bhaiṣajyarāja") this sūtra is called the "king of Sūtras" (a term applied also to the *Saishōōkyō* and the *Ninnōkyō*); "it saves all beings from all fear, delivers them from all pains". Again the Buddha lays stress upon the enormous merit of teaching, learning, writing and worshipping this text. And he adds that any female who in the last five hundred years of the millennium shall hear and penetrate this chapter of the Ancient Devotion of Bhaiṣajyarāja, shall be reborn as a man in *Sukhāvātī*, Amitābha's heaven, and as a Bodhisattva shall see innumerable Buddhas and be praised by them.

Hokke sammai (法華三昧) "Meditation (*samādhi*) on the Lotus" (cf. above, chapter VIII, § 18, pp. 355 sqq., on the *Hokke*

sembō) is mentioned in Ch. XXIV (*Myō-on Bosatsu-bon*, 妙音菩薩品, "Chapter on the Bodhisattva *Gadgadasvara*") (Kern Ch. XXIII), where numberless lotus flowers, on gold stalks with silver leaves, suddenly appear on account of this Bodhisattva's deep meditation, and where the Buddha states that *Gadgadasvara* preaches this *sūtra* in every kind of shape, from that of Indra to that of a demon, in order to save all beings.

Ch XXV (Kern's 24th chapter) is the famous *Kwanzeon Bosatsu fumonbon*, often abbreviated into *Fumonbon* (普門品, "Chapter of the universal gate") (of *Avalokiteśvara*) (Kern: "The All-sided One"). Here the Lord describes the prodigious saving power of this Bodhisattva in all possible dangers produced by fire, water, demons, men (in case of capital punishment "the swords of the executioners shall snap asunder", as in the case of Nichiren, robbers and enemies are driven away by the invocation of his name), and passions. He is a giver of male and female offspring and of unfailing profit; he who adores him and cherishes his name accumulates a mass of merit equal to that produced by him who adores innumerable Buddhas. He preaches the Law in every shape, from that of a Buddha, Brahma, Indra, Maheśvara (Śiva), Kubera, to those of a goblin or an imp, in order to convert and to save all beings. So great are his faculty of transformation and his compassion, which he showed also by accepting a pearl necklace, offered to him as a decoration of piety by the Bodhisattva *Akshayamatī* (無盡意, *Mujini*), and which he divided into two parts, one for the Lord *Śākyamuni* and one for the Lord *Prabhūtaratna*.¹

Then follow the stanzas in praise of *Avalokiteśvara*'s protective power, which saves mankind from all dangers, also from those caused by spells, beasts, lightning and diseases, and from all troubles and sorrows of the world. To all beings, including the gods, he is a saviour, and by means of his great magic power

¹ The Chinese text gives *Tahōtō*, 多寶塔, *Prabhūtaratna*'s pagoda

and his vast knowledge and skilfulness he shows himself in all regions.

Ami tābha and his Western Paradise are again praised, and Avalokiteśvara, the great Compassionate One, the Universal Lord, is said to be his attendant, "at one time standing to the right, at another to the left of the Chief Amitābha"

"And while this chapter was being expounded by the Lord, 84000 living beings from that assembly felt their minds drawn to that supreme and perfect enlightenment, with which nothing else can be compared".

In Ch. XXVII (Kern's 25th chapter), entitled *Myōshōgon-ō honji-bon* (妙莊嚴王本事品), "Chapter on the original matter of King Śubhavyūha", the two devout sons of this king are said to have been former incarnations of the Bodhisattvas Bhaiṣajyarāja and Bhaiṣajya(rāja) mudgata (*Yaku-ō* and *Yakuō*, 藥王, 藥上) (both belonging to Amitābha's retinue) "All those who shall cherish the names of these two good men shall become worthy of receiving homage from the world, including the gods".

The last chapter, Ch XXVIII (Kern's 26th chapter), entitled *Fugen Bosatsu kwanhotsu-bon* (普賢菩薩勸發品, "Encouragement of Samantabhadra", is very important. Accompanied by hundred thousands of Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas he comes from the East, producing by his magic a great escort of gods, Nāgas, goblins, Gandharvas, demons, Garudas, Kinnaras, great serpents, men, and non-human beings. He comes to hear the Lord Śākyamuni expounding this sūtra. Then the Buddha states that this text (although, as a general rule, fit for males only) may also be entrusted to females, provided they are possessed of four requisites, to wit: if they are under the superintendence of the Lords Buddhas, if they have planted good roots, if they keep steadily to the mass of disciplinary regulations, and if, in order to save creatures, they have their thoughts fixed on supreme and perfect enlightenment.

Then Samantabhadra promises to protect the monks who keep this sūtra. "Incessantly and constantly, o Lord, will I protect

such a preacher. And when a preacher who applies himself to this Dharmaparyāya shall take a walk, then, o Lord, will I mount a white elephant with six tusks, and with a train of Bodhisattvas betake myself to the place where that preacher is walking, in order to protect this Dharmaparyāya". In the same way he will encourage those priests, who, after beholding him, shall acquire meditation and obtain spells, and lay devotees as well as monks and nuns who study this *sūtra*. If they do so for 3×7 days, on the 21st day he will appear to them, mounted on his white elephant with six tusks and surrounded by Bodhisattvas, and he will stimulate the preachers and protect them by giving them spells which shall make them inviolable. He promises heavenly felicity after death to those who shall write and keep this *sūtra* and comprehend it. "He who writes it with undistracted attention shall be supported by the hands of a thousand Buddhas, and at the moment of his death he shall behold another thousand Buddhas face to face". And he shall be reborn in the Tushita heaven, where Maitreya preaches the Law.

Then the Buddha praises Samantabhadra for these words and says that those who shall cherish this Bodhisattva's name may rest assured that they have seen him, the Tathāgata, himself, and have heard him preach this *sūtra*, and have paid him homage. The monks who keep this *sūtra* and preach it, will not be covetous, they will be honest and refrain from worldly business. And those who treat them badly shall be punished by being reborn with ugly faces, deformed bodies and disgusting diseases. "Therefore, Samantabhadra, even from afar people should rise from their seats before the monks who keep this Dharmaparyāya, and show them the same reverence as to the Tathāgata".

The expounding of this chapter caused a hundred thousand of koṭis of Bodhisattvas to acquire the talismanic spell Āvarta (旋陀羅尼, *sen-darani*). As to these protective spells, in Ch. XXVI (Kern's 21st chapter) (*darani-bon*, "Spells") they are

given for the protection of those who keep this sūtra and preach it by the Bodhisattvas *Bhaiṣajyarāja* (*Yaku-ō*) and *Pradānaśūra* (勇施, *Yuse*), by two of the Four Deva Kings, *Vaiṣṭavaṇa* and *Dhṛtarāṣṭra* (*Bishamon* and *Jikoku*, 持國; instead of the latter *Virūḍhaka* is given in Kern's text), and by ten giantesses with their children and followers (*rasetsunyo*, 羅刹女, *Raksaśī*; eleven, amongst whom *Kuntī* and *Hārītī*, are enumerated in Kern's text). Then the Buddha praises them and says that those especially who keep this sūtra "wholly and entirely" and who worship it with flowers, incense, fragrant garlands, ointment, powder, cloth, flags, banners and lamps with all kinds of fragrant oil, shall deserve to be guarded by them. "And while this chapter on spells was being expounded, 68000 living beings received the faculty of acquiescence in the Law that has no origin" (無生法忍, *mushōhō-nin*)

Upon recapitulating the above facts we see that besides the Buddha himself the principal figures of this sūtra are the Buddha *Prabhūtaratna* (*Tahō*) and the Bodhisattvas *Samantabhadra*, *Mañjuśrī*, *Avalokiteśvara*, *Maitreya*, *Bhaiṣajyarāja* (*Yaku-ō*), *Bhaiṣajyamudgata* (*Yakujō*) and *Gadgadasvara* (*Myō-on*). Worship is to be paid also to the 500 Arhats and especially to the sūtra itself

Of the disciples *Śāriputra* is addressed by the Lord and said to be a future Buddha called *Padmaprabha*, and in stanzas he utters his joy about the Lord's expounding the wonderful Law (Ch. II and III, Skillfulness, *Hōben-bon*, 方便品, and A Parable, *Hiyu-bon*, 譬諭品)

Ānanda and *Rāhula* are mentioned particularly in Ch IX, where their future Buddhahip is predicted as well as that of 2000 other disciples. *Mahā-Kāśyapa* is addressed in Ch. V (On Plants, *Yakusōyu-bon*, 藥草諭品, "Instruction with regard to medicinal herbs"), and his Buddhahip is prophesied in Ch. VI (Announcement of Future Destiny, 授記品, *Jukibon*). There the Buddha gives the same prediction to his senior disciples *Subhūti*, *Mahā-*

Katyāyana, and *Mahā-Maudgalyāyana*, who in Ch. IV (Disposition, 信解品, *Shinge-bon*, "Explanation of Faith") humbly compare themselves to the poor, foolish son of a rich father, who, after having been forsaken by his son in his youth, finds him after fifty years and by several devices convinces him of his own position and wealth. In the same way they, thinking themselves unable to obtain supreme perfect enlightenment, to-day suddenly have heard from the Lord that disciples, too, may be predestined for it. Thus they have acquired a magnificent and incomparable jewel.

Finally, *Purna* is praised in Ch VIII (on the 500 Arhats) as "the foremost of preachers in this assembly", who shall become a famous Buddha by the name of *Dharmaprabhāsa*.

Amitābha and his Western Paradise, *Maitreya* and the Tushita heaven where he preaches the Law, *Avalokiteśvara* as *Amitābha*'s attendant, are all found in this important *sūtra*. Meditation on the lotus (*Hokke sammat*) is described as having a wonderful effect, and magic formulae are given by two Bodhisattvas (*Bhaiṣajyarāja* and *Pradānaśūra*, *Yaku-ō* and *Yuse*), two of the Four Deva Kings (*Vaiśravaṇa* and *Dhṛtarāṣṭra*, *Bishamon* and *Jikoku*) and by ten *Rākṣaṣī*, for those who keep and expound this text. Worship, meditation and magic are therefore combined in the ceremonies, based on this "King of *Sūtras*".

§ 3. *The Hokkekyō, the Kwanzeongyō, and the Kwannon cult in the seventh and eighth centuries*

A. *The seventh century.*

As seen above (Ch. I, § 2, p. 6), in the seventh century the *Hokkekyō* was only mentioned in A D 606, the fourteenth year of the Empress Suiko's reign, when Shōtoku Taishi lectured on the *Shōmangyō* and this *sūtra*. He explained the *Hokkekyō* in the Palace of Okamoto, and the Empress was so greatly pleased

that she bestowed upon him 100 chō of "water-fields" (wet rice-fields) in Harima province, which were added to the *Ikaruga* temple (*Hōryūji*).¹ According to the *Genkō Shakusho* this happened in the tenth month, and the size of the land was 1000 se, i. e. 10 chō.²

In A.D. 680, the ninth year of Temmu Tennō's reign, we find two Kwannon images and Amida with his two attendant Bodhisattvas Kwannon and Daiseishi mentioned among the images placed in *Yakushiji*.³ Six years later (A.D. 686, Shuchō 1, VII 28), when the Emperor Temmu was very ill, "the Princes and Ministers made images of Kwannon, for the Emperor's sake. Accordingly the *Kwanzeongyō* was expounded in the Great Official Temple". And some days later (VIII 2) "100 Bosatsu (those Kwannon images) were set up within the Palace, and 200 volumes (*kwan*) of the *Kwannongyō* were read".⁴

In A.D. 689, the third year of the Empress Jitō's reign (IV 20), an ambassador came from Shiragi (one of the three kingdoms of Korea) with a letter of condolence upon Temmu Tennō's decease and a present of gold-copper images of *Amida*, *Kwanzeon* and *Daiseishi* (probably to be worshipped on behalf of his soul).⁵

§ 3, B. *The Kwannon cult and the Kwanzeon sūtra in the eighth century.*

The eighth century witnessed the gradual rise of the *Hokkekyō* and, in connection with the constantly increasing *Kwannon* cult, one single time the *Kwanzeongyō* was copied separately (A.D. 740, IX 15). *Amida* and his two attendant Bodhisattvas *Kwannon* and *Daiseishi* also appeared on the stage of the official cults (A.D. 760 sq.),

¹ *Nihongi*, Ch. xxii, p. 381, Aston II, p. 135

² *Genkō Shakusho*, Ch. xx, p. 982

³ *Fusō ryakki*, Ch. V, p. 527.

⁴ *Nihongi*, Ch. xxix, pp. 542 sq.; Aston II, p. 379.

⁵ *Nihongi*, Ch. xxx, p. 551, Aston II, p. 391.

represented in their Pure Land (*jōdo*, *Sukhāvātī*) or as three images (*Amida sanzō*). This Western Paradise was, as stated above, twice mentioned in the Lotus *sūtra*: in the 23rd chapter ("Ancient devotion of *Bhaiṣajyarāja*, *Yaku-ō*"), where rebirth in that heaven is promised to all females who shall hear and fathom this chapter, and in the 25th (the *Kwanzeongyō* or *Fumonbon*), where *Amida* and his *Jōdo*, as well as his chief attendant, the great compassionate *Kwannon*, are praised and the latter is glorified as the Saviour of the world.¹

An important centre of the *Kwannon* cult was *Kwanzeonji* in *Tsukushi*. This is the popular name, used also in the annals, of *Kiyomizu-san Fumon-in* (清水山普門院), the *Tendai* shrine still existing near Mizuki village, *Tsukushi* district, *Chikuzen* province.² Although in A.D. 709 (*Washō* 2, II 1) the Empress Gemmei gave orders to make haste in fulfilling the vow of erecting this temple, made by *Tenchū Tennō* on behalf of the soul of his mother, *Saimei Tennō*, who died in *Asakura* (*Chikuzen* province) on her way to Korea, the shrine was not built until A.D. 723 (*Yōrō* 7, II 2). The Empress *Genshō* then sent a high nobleman, the Buddhist priest *Mansei* of *Nara* to *Tsukushi*, in order to erect the sanctuary.³ Her successor, *Shōmu Tennō*, granted a fief of 100 houses to this temple, for a period of five years, beginning with A.D. 738 (*Tempyō* 10, III 4). Seven years later (A.D. 745, *Tempyō* 17, XI 2) we read that by order of *Shōmu Tennō* the shrine was built (anew) by *Gembō* (玄昉), a *Hossō* priest of *Kōfukuji*.⁴

In A.D. 749 (*Tempyō* *Shōhō* 1, VII 13) the Empress *Kōken*, who had just ascended the throne, fixed the extent of the new rice-fields of the Buddhist temples: 4000 *chō* for the *Kokubun-*

¹ Cf. *De la Vallée Poussin, Bouddhisme*, Ch. v, pp. 260—273.

² Yoshida Tōgo, Vol. I, p. 1486, s.v. *Kwanzeonji*.

³ *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. IV, p. 59; Ch. IX, p. 143, some of *Mansei's* poems are found in the *Manyōshū*.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Ch. XIII, p. 215, Ch. XVI, p. 261.

Konkwōmyōji of Yamato (*Tōdayū*); 2000 chō for *Gwangōji*; 1000 chō for each of the other *Kokubun-Konkwōmyōji* (provincial state monasteries, established in A.D. 741), the *Hokkeji* of Yamato (the main provincial state nunnery, *kokubun-nyū*), *Daiyūji*, *Yakushiji* and *Kōfukuji* (the latter three with *Gwangōji* being the Four Great Temples of Nara, two of the *Hossō* sect, namely *Yakushiji* and *Kōfukuji*, and two *Sanron* shrines); 500 chō for *Gufukuji* (弘福寺), *Hōryūji*, *Shitennōji*, *Sufukuji* (崇福寺), *Shun-Yakushiji*, *Konkōji* (建興寺),¹ *Yakushiji* in Shimotsuke province and *Kwanzeonji* in Tsukushi; 400 chō for the *Hokkeji* of all the other provinces (the provincial state nunneries, devoted to the *Hokkekyō*); and 100 chō for each of the other *jōgakuji* (定額寺, officially authorized Buddhist temples).²

This important ordinance shows us the relative position of the different important Buddhist sanctuaries of that time, and we see the comparatively high rank of the *Hokkeji* (especially that of Nara) and of *Kwanzeonji* in Tsukushi. In A.D. 762 (*Tempyō Hōji* 5 (6), I 21),³ under Junnin Tennō's reign, a *kaidan* (戒壇) or "altar of commandments" was erected in *Kwanzeonji*, which by this act became one of the *sankaidan*, "three altars of commandments" of Japan. These altars were erected by Kanshin oshō, 鑑真和尚, a Chinese *Vinaya* priest, who in A.D. 754 came to Japan and, residing in *Tōdayū*, founded the *Ritsu* or *Kairitsu* (*Vinaya*) sect and gave the ten commandments to the Emperor Shōmu and his Court. He chose *Tōdayū* (*Kegon*), *Yakushiji* in

¹ *Konkōji* was *Owarida-dera*, (小墾寺), also called *Toyora-dera* (豐浦寺), *Kwōgonji* (廣嚴寺) and *Kōgenji*, 向原寺, the oldest Buddhist sanctuary originally built in A.D. 553 by Soga no Iname at Asuka and destroyed at the fall of the Soga's in A.D. 645. Cf. *Dayū* I, p. 1180, I, s.v. *Kōgenji*.

² *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. xvii, p. 288.

³ *Genkō Shakusho*, Ch. xxii, p. 1026; evidently *Tempyō Hōji* 5 here is A.D. 762 instead of 761 (cf. *Nihon kiriyaku*, *Zempen*, Ch. xi, p. 312, events of A.D. 762).

Shimotsuke province and *Kwanzeonji* in Tsukushi as sites for the three altars; this shows again the importance of the Kwannon temple.¹ *Dan* is the translation of *mandala*; *kaidan* is an elevated place of worship, where the commandments are given to other priests or laymen. That of *Tōdaiji* was erected by Kanshin in A.D. 754 (IV), three months after his arrival from China; those of *Yakushiji* and *Kwanzeonji* were established by him in A.D. 762. These three altars belonged to all sects; in A.D. 822 (Kōnin 13), however, the Emperor Saga had a special *Tendai-kaidan* erected on *Hietzan*, and thenceforward there were "four *kaidan* of Japan" (*shukaidan*). In China such altars were known even in the third century (A.D. 249—256); they are mentioned further in the Ying-ming era (A.D. 483—494) and in the beginning of T'ang (A.D. 618).²

As to the Kwannon cult, in A.D. 728 (Jinki 5, VIII 21), when the Prince Imperial was ill, Shōmu Tennō had 177 Kwannon images made and 177 chapters (*kwan*) of *sūtras* (probably the *Kwannongyō*) read by means of the *tendoku* system, with worship of the Buddha and circumambulations (*gyōdō*) during a whole day, in order to obtain his recovery by the blessing power of these meritorious works. He also granted a great amnesty to the country, which, as seen above (Ch. VI B, § 4, pp. 202 sqq.) formed part of the *hōjō* ceremonies.³

In A.D. 740 (Tempyō 12, IX 15) the same Emperor issued an ordinance to the effect that in every province a Kwannon image, seven shaku high, should be made, and ten *kwan* of the *Kwanzeongyō* copied (i.e. ten copies of the *Fumonbon* to be made), in order to suppress the rebellion in Tsukushi and to give rest to the people.⁴

In A.D. 757 (Tempyō Hōji 1, VII 12) the Empress Kōken in one of her lengthy and devout proclamations magnified the wonder-

¹ *Dayūten*, p. 606, s.v. *sankaidan*.

² *Dayūten*, p. 166, s.v. *kaidan*.

³ *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. x, p. 167.

Ibid, Ch. xiii, p. 225.

ful, majestic, divine power of *Vairocana*, *Avalokiteśvara*, *Brahma*, *Indra* and the *Four Deva Kings*.¹

In A.D. 761 (Tempyō Hōji 5, in the *Gukwanshō* 4, II) (the year after the official Amida cult began with pictures of his Pure Land in all provinces, copies of his *sūtra* (Nanjō No. 199), and worship in the *Kokubun Konkwōmyōji*, for the soul of the Empress Dowager, Kwōmyō-ko, the Consort of the late Emperor Shōmu, who died the previous year) Emi no Oshikatsu (Fujiwara no Nakamaro), the powerful minister of Junnin Tennō established a Kwannon shrine with an image of this Bodhisattva in the compound of *Kōfukuji* (Hossō). Beautiful embroideries representing Kwannon's heaven, Mount *Potala* (*Fudaraku-san*, 補陀落山) or *Potalaka* (*Fudaraka*, 補陀落迦)² and Amida's Paradise decorated the Western and Eastern walls of this chapel, which was originally the *Tō-in* or Eastern building of *Yamashina-dera*. In the sixth month of this year the *Jōdo-in* (淨土院) or "*Sukhāvatī* shrine" was erected in the south-western corner of the compound of the *Hokkeji* nunnery, with an Amida image, sixteen feet high, on behalf of the soul of the Empress Dowager. In all provinces such an image and those of his two attendant Bodhisattvas were placed in the *kokubun-nyū*, the provincial state nunneries (*Hokkeji*); to the principal *Hokkeji* (in Nara) 10 chō of rice-fields were given, and a yearly Amida service of seven days, to be held there by ten priests on the day of the Empress Dowager's death and six following days, was established for the benefit of her soul. Here we see the close connection of the *Hokkekyō*, to which the *Hokkeji* were dedicated, and the cult of *Amida* and *Kwannon*. In the tenth month the ambitious Hossō priest Dōkyō performed an offering service (*gu*) in worship

¹ Ibid., Ch xx, p 333

² *Dayiten*, pp 1531, 2, 3, 1584, 2 (*Hōda-gan*); 1588, 1 (*Hota*), an octagonal mountain on the Southern coast of South-India, said to be Avalokiteśvara's resort. Cf Eitel s.v. *Potala*. In A.D. 813 the *Nanendō* of *Kōfukuji*, dedicated to *Fukūkensaku Kwannon*, was therefore built in this form.

of *Nyoirin Kwanjizai* (= *Kwannon*) (如意輪觀自在供), *Cintāmani-cakra-Avalokiteśvara*.¹

Another famous *Kwannon* sanctuary of the eighth century was *Hase-dera* (*Chōkokujī*, 長合寺, also called *Buzanji*, 豊山寺, and *Hatsuse-dera*, 泊瀬寺) in Yamato. In A.D. 727 (Jinki 4) or A.D. 733 (Tempyō 5) this temple was dedicated to *Jūichimen Kwannon*, the Eleven-faced *Avalokiteśvara* (a Tantric image in those early days!), whose image, 26 feet high, had been made of the wood of a holy tree. This was a so called Thunder-tree,² which had drifted ashore at the Mino promontory in Takashima district, Ōmi province. There it had caused pestilence, but after having floated away to the coast of Yamato, Katsuragi district, it was taken by two Buddhist priests, *Dōmyō* (道明) and *Tokudō* (徳道), who made it into a *Kwannon* image. At Fujiwara no Fusasaki's request the Emperor Shōmu ordered *Tokudō* to build this shrine, which was made a *chokugwansho* or "place of Imperial vow". This happened in A.D. 727 and in the same year (Ill 30) (or according to the *Daijiri*, six years later) the famous *Hossō* priest Gyōgi Bosatsu led the ceremony of "opening the eyes" of the image.³ In A.D. 768 (Jingo keiun 2, X) the Empress Shōtoku visited the temple and presented it with 8 chō of rice-fields, and in A.D. 847 (Shōwa 14, XII 25) the Emperor Nimmō on account of the miraculous power manifested by the image (*reigen*) made it an officially authorized temple (*jōgakuji*) with an official leader who filled the function of *kengyō* (檢校), superintendent.⁴ In the Engi era (A.D. 901—923) a

¹ *Genkō Shakusho*, Ch. xxii, p. 1026, *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. xxiii, p. 391.

² *Hekireki-moku* (*gi*), cf. the present writer's treatise on "Fire and ignes fatui in China and Japan", Ch. v, § 3, p. 91. (Mitt. des Sem. f. Or. Spr. zu Berlin, xvii (1914), Abt. I, Ostas. Studien).

³ *Fusō ryakki*, Ch. vi, p. 552 (where the date of Tempyō 5 is mentioned in a note), *Daijuten*, pp. 1396 sq., s.v. *Hasedera*; *Dayu*, III, pp. 3337 sq., s.v. *Chōkokujī*.

⁴ *Genkō Shakusho*, Ch. xxiii, p. 1029, *Shoku Nihon kōki*, Ch. xvii, p. 389.

yearly amount of 2400 koku of rice was fixed for this shrine, and in A.D. 990 (Shōryaku 1) it was placed under the jurisdiction of the Hossō sanctuary *Kōfukuji*, before that time it had been under the control of *Tōdaiji*, the *Kegon* shrine. Afterwards it became a *Shingi Shingon* temple, and one of the 33 celebrated Kwannon shrines in the provinces near Kyōto (*sanjūsansho Kwannon*); this number was in accordance with the so-called *sanjūsanshun* (身, bodies), the 33 shapes in which in the *Fumonbon* (*Hokkekyō* Ch. XXV) Avalokiteśvara is said to manifest himself. Of these temples, which were selected by the Emperor Kwazan after his abdication (he was *Hō-ō* from A.D. 986—1008), 17 are dedicated to *Senju Kwannon*, 6 to *Nyoirin*, 5 to *Jūchimen*, 2 to *Shō Kwannon*, 1 to *Batō Kwannon*, 1 to *Jundei* and 1 to *Fukūken-saku Kwannon*.¹

The *Kwanzeongyō* is mentioned in A.D. 705 (Keiun 2, IX 26) in the *Fusō ryakki*, where its copying is spoken of.² The same work relates, how by praying to *Nyoirin Kwannon* Ryōben obtained 900 ryō gold for the *Daibutsu* of *Tōdaiji* from Riku-oku province. The oracle of *Usa Hachiman* had said that the gold should not be brought from China but from Japan itself,³ and when the Emperor then sent a messenger to *Kimbusen* (Yoshino san, Yamato, *Kongō Zaō* (*Zōō*) *Bosatsu*) in order to pray for it, the latter learned by an oracle (or in a dream) that the gold of this mountain could be taken and used when Maitreya had appeared in the world (from the *Tuṣita* heaven); but that the gold required for the *Daibutsu* would come of itself, if prayers were said to a Kwannon image, to be made upon the stone seat of an old man on the bank of the Seta river in Shiga district, Ōmi province. Then the spot was sought, and a *Nyoirin Kwannon* image dedicated; this

¹ *Dayū* III, p. 3337, 3 s v *Chōkokoji*, *Dayūten*, pp 633 sq, s v *Sanjūsansho Kwannon*, and *sanjūsanshun*. Cf. *Butsuzō zui* II, pp. 13 sqq, *sanjūsantai no Kwannon* (another group of 33 shapes).

² *Fusō ryakki*, Ch. v, p. 538

³ Cf. above, Ch. vi B, § 5, p. 214.

was the *honzon* of the celebrated *Ishiyama-dera*, built by Ryōben in A.D. 749 by order of Shōmu Tennō. At the present day it is a *Shingon* shrine, belonging to the 33 holy Kwannon places mentioned above. Within a few days Ryōben's prayers were answered and Rikoku province presented the gold.¹

In A.D. 759 (Tempyō hōji 3, VIII 3), when the Chinese Vinaya priest Kien-chan (鑑真, Kanshin Oshō, cf. above, Ch. XIV, § 3A, p. 546) erected *Tō-Shōdaiji* in Nara, a *Kensaku-dō* was dedicated to the images of *Fukū-kensaku Kwannon* (*Amoghapāśa Avalokiteśvara*, a gold-coloured image) and the *hachibushū* (Devas, Nāgas etc.).²

In A.D. 798 (Enryaku 17, VII 2) the general Sakanoe no Tamuramaro (758—811) had a gold-coloured image of the Forty-armed Kwannon (i.e. the Thousand-armed, *Senju*) made for *Kiyomizu-dera*, the famous *Hossō* shrine (sometimes called *Kwanzeonji*, as in the *Genji monogatari*), East of Kyōto, built at his expenses by the *Hossō* priest Enchin (延鎮). This temple, like *Hase-dera*, depended originally upon *Tōdaiji*.³

There are many ancient Kwannon images in the temples of Japan. The oldest specimens are the beautiful bronze statuettes of the Imperial Household Collection, formerly in the Golden Hall of *Hōryūji* (N Wei style, 6th or 7th cent., *Kokkwa* Nos. 180, I, 199, II, *Nyoirin Kwannon*; 288, I). The famous *Kudara Kwannon* of *Hōryūji* belongs to the same period, an extremely slender figure, a "survival in wood of stone statues, found in earlier Chinese cave temples, archaic, but very graceful". The Bodhisattva's right hand is stretched forward in *varada* mudrā, the left hand, hanging down, carries an *amṛta* vase. It is made in the style of the Asuka or Suiko period, called after the Empress Suiko (A.D. 593—628), who had her residence in Asuka. It is painted with chalk and vermilion, and under the paint its upper

¹ *Fusō ryakki, bassui*, Shōmu Tennō, Tempyō 21 (A.D. 749, I, 4), p. 565.

² *Ibid*, *bassui*, Junnin Tennō, Tempyō hōji 3, p. 573

³ *Ibid*, *bassui*, Kwammu Tennō, Enryaku 17, p. 585.

part is covered with lacquer (*Kokkwa* No. 380, III) The *Nyoirin Kwannon* of the Shingon shrine *Kwōryūji* in Yamashiro (*Kokkwa* No. 141, VI) and the *Jūichimen Kwannon* of a temple in Isumi province (*Kokkwa* No. 20, II) (both of wood) also belong to the seventh century.

Wooden Kwannon statues of the eighth century (Tempyō and following eras, combined in art under the term Tempyō) are those of *Tō-Shōdaiji* in Nara (mentioned above, *Kokkwa* Nos. 168, VII; 175, VII, a beautiful figure standing on the lotus, with the *amṛta* vase in the left hand, the right hand hanging down; round halo behind the head), *Shō Kwannon* (*Ārya-Avalokiteśvara*) of *Yakushiji* in Nara (*Kokkwa* No 55, IV, standing, preaching with both hands); *Jūichimen Kwannon* of *Hokkeji*, Nara (*Kokkwa* No. 224, VI); the famous Kwannon of the *Yumedono*, *Hōryūji* (*Kokkwa* No 174, VI, standing on the lotus, with a jewel in his hands and a magnificent crown on his head, placed there in A.D. 739 (Tempyō 11) by the *Hossō* priest Gyōshin (行信), who made Shōtoku Taishi's palace into a temple)

The lacquered statue of *Fukūkensaku Kwannon* of the *Sangwat-sudō* (三月堂, the *Hokkedō* of *Tōdaiji*, erected AD 733 (Tempyō 5) by Ryōben, to whom this image is ascribed, *Kokkwa* No. 231, VII) wears a silver crown, adorned with jewels (*Kokkwa* No. 157, VII). As to the small bronze image (seated with the right leg resting on the knee and the fingers touching the right cheek), enclosed by Kōbō Daishi within a large Kwannon statue, this is said to have been made by a Chinese artist in *Ryūgaiji* (Yamato), where it is still preserved (*Kokkwa* No 178, VII) The *Hossō* priest Dōkyō (道鏡, who nearly usurped the throne) asked him to make this statuette and presented it to the Empress Kōken, who had it enshrined. It is evident that during the eighth century the *Hossō* and *Kegon* priests were the main propagators of the Kwannon cult.¹

¹ With regard to *Kwanyin* worship in China cf De Groot, *Fêtes annuellement célébrées à Emou*, I, pp 178—200 (19th of the second month); Edkins, *Chinese Buddhism*, Chavannes, *Le T'ai-chan*, Boerschmann, *P'u-to-shan*, Hackmann, *Laien-Buddhismus in China*, etc.

§ 3, C. *The Hokkekyō in the eighth century.*

In A.D. 726 (Jinki 3, VIII 15) Shōmu Tennō copied a picture of Śākyamuni and the Lotus sūtra, and gave a vegetarian entertainment to the monks in *Yakushiji*, in order to cause the recovery of his aunt, the Empress Genshō, who in A.D. 724 (II 4) had abdicated in his favour. She had been ill since the sixth month (VI 15), and by order of the Emperor animals were let loose in all provinces (*hōjō*), 28 men became monks and two women nuns (VI 21), a great amnesty was granted throughout the Empire (VII 18), and once more 15 men and 7 women entered religious life (VII 19). In short, everything was done to make her recover and this was actually the case, for she did not die until A.D. 748, many years later.¹

In A.D. 734 (Tempyō 6, XI 21) the *Dajōkwan* reported to the Emperor Shōmu, that the propagation of the Buddhist doctrine was the necessary task of the monks and nuns. Therefore henceforth the knowledge of those who wished to enter religious life should be tested and only those accepted who during three or more years had recited from memory the whole Lotus sūtra or the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa sūtra* (*Saishōkyō*), at the same time explaining the worship of Buddha and leading a pure life.²

In A.D. 740 (Tempyō 12, VI 19) the Emperor Shōmu ordered 10 copies of the *Hokkekyō* to be made and a seven-storied pagoda erected in all provinces. The same year in every province he had a Kwannon image and 10 copies of the *Kwanzeongyō* made, in order to obtain the suppression of the Tsukushi rebellion and give the people rest (IX 15).³

In A.D. 741 (Tempyō 13, III 24) Shōmu Tennō's famous ordinance about the provincial state temples (*kokubunji*) was issued. After

¹ *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch IX, p. 157.

² *Ibid*, Ch. XI, p. 196.

³ *Ibid*, Ch. XIII, p. 225

stating that the making of golden images of Shaka and copying of the whole text of the *Daihannyakyō* (600 *kwan*) had caused good weather and abundant crops throughout the Empire, and that according to the (*Suvarṇa-prabhāsa*) *sūtra* the Four Deva Kings had promised protection against all calamities, sorrow and pestilence to those countries where that king of *sūtras* was expounded and read, respectfully sacrificed and extended, he further ordered all provinces to build a seven-storied pagoda and to make ten copies of the *Saishōōkyō* and the *Hokke-rengekyō*. Moreover in each of those pagodas a copy of the *Saishōōkyō*, written in golden characters, was to be deposited. He thus hoped to promote the glory of the Holy Law and its eternal extension in Heaven and on Earth, and to obtain the favour of its protection. As the monasteries, connected with those pagodas, were to be the flower of the country, good sites should certainly be chosen for them, and the heads of provinces should adorn them well and cause them to be entirely pure, so that all the devas might descend and protect them. The monasteries, called *Konkwōmyō Shitennō gokoku no tera*, "Monasteries for the protection of the country by the Four Deva Kings, (to be obtained) by means of the *Suvarṇa-prabhāsa sūtra*", were to be inhabited by (at least) 20 monks, and a fief of 50 houses and 10 *chō* of wet rice-fields was granted to them. The nunneries, called *Hokke metsuzai no tera*, 法華滅罪之寺, "Monasteries for the extinction of crime by means of the Lotus *sūtra*", had to house (at least) 10 nuns; and a fief of ten *chō* of wet rice-fields was given them.¹ Both together had to receive the commandments of the doctrine and if there were monks or nuns lacking, their number must of necessity be filled up. On the eighth day of every month those monks and nuns had to perform *tendoku* of the *Saishōōkyō* (this must be a mistake, since the text to be read by the nuns was, of course, the *Hokkekyō*, the name of which must have been

¹ In A.D. 747 (Tempyō 19, XI7) this was changed into 90 *chō* of rice-fields for the monasteries and 40 for the nunneries.

omitted after that of the *Saishōōkyō*), and on the 15th of every month the *kai-kamma*, the commandments, had to be read. As to the six fast-days of the month (*rokusainichi*, 8, 14, 15, 23, 29, 30), all public or private fishing, hunting or killing animals was then forbidden, and the heads of provinces had to exercise constant control over their subjects with regard to this matter. These monasteries and nunneries were the so-called *kokubunji* and *kokubun-niji*¹; in the Tempyō-Shōhō era (A.D. 749—757) *Tōdaiji* was made into the *Sōkokubunji* or "General State monastery" and *Hokkeji* (also in Nara, erected in the Tempyō era (A.D. 729—749) by the Empress Kwōmyō (Fujiwara no Fuhito's daughter, Shōmu Tennō's Consort and Kōken Tennō's mother, who lived A.D. 701—760) in the compound of her palace) was made into the *Sōkokubun-niji* or "General State Nunnery". The Empress had established the rule that no men should be admitted into this place of worship (evidently only into its main building, for in the *Jōdo-in*, dedicated to Amida worship in A.D. 761, ten monks had to perform the service for her soul), because Shōmu Tennō had forbidden women to enter *Tōdaiji*.²

The nun, priestess of Usa Hachiman, who was possessed by this god and represented his own person, was, of course, an exception to this rule and was received with great ceremonial pomp when she visited *Tōdaiji* in A.D. 749, XII 27.³ In the middle-ages *Hokkeji* was neglected, but in the Kwangen era (A.D. 1243—1247) Shi-en Shōnin (思圓上人) of *Saidaiji*, i.e. the *Kairitsu* priest Eison (睿尊) (A.D. 1201—1290),⁴ restored its ancient glory and placed it under the rule of *Saidaiji*.

In A.D. 1601 (Keichō 6) its main hall was rebuilt, and in the course of the centuries many a nun belonging to the families of the Imperial Guards (*konoe-ke*) lived in this nunnery. Its territory

¹ Cf. above, Ch. xi, § 7, A, pp. 446.

² *Dayu* III, p. 4098, 2, s.v. *Hokkeji*.

³ Cf. above, Ch. vi, B, § 5, p. 215.

⁴ Washio, p. 77, 2, s.v. *Eison*.

covers more than 3000 tsubo, and there are several other buildings in its compound besides the *Hondō*. Its treasury contains the wooden *Jūichimen Kwannon* of the eighth century, mentioned above, a *kanshutsu* (dried lacquer) image of *Yuima koji* (*Vimala-kīrti*), wooden heads of Brahma, Indra and Buddhas, and paintings on silk representing *Amida sanzō* and *dōji* (attendant boys), all belonging to the national treasures.¹

The following month (A.D. 741, Interc. III 24) the Emperor Shōmu presented to the *Hachiman* temple of Usa one silken cap, one copy of the *Saishōōkyō* and one of the *Hokkekyō*, both written in golden characters, 18 converts (who entered religious life) and five horses; he also ordered a three-storied pagoda to be built here, in order to offer thanks for favourable answers to prayers received in former lives (*shukutō*).²

In A.D. 748 (Tempyō 20, VII 18) Shōmu Tennō gave orders to write out a thousand copies of the *Hokkekyō* for the sake of the soul of the late Empress Genshō, his aunt, who died on IV 21. Her cremation had taken place 7 days after her death in the Mausoleum of Saho-yama, Yamato province, and *sūtras* had been read for her in *Daijūji* (two days after her death), in *Yamashina-dera* (*Kōfukujū*) (two days later), in *Asuka-dera* (*Gwangōji*) (on the first seventh day after her death), in the temples of the capital (on every succeeding seventh day until the 49th day after her death) and in one temple of every province, the monks and nuns of all the monasteries being there assembled (on the 3rd—7th seventh days). The writing out of a thousand copies of the *Hokkekyō* on behalf of her soul is said to have been the origin of the *Hokke sembu-e* (千部會), performed in later times by a thousand monks who read a thousand copies of the *sūtra*.³

¹ *Dayu*, 11

² *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. xiv, p. 235

³ *Ibid.*, Ch. xvii, p. 276, *Genkō Shakusho*, Ch. xxii, p. 1021. *Dayūten*, p. 1598, 1, s.v. *Hokke sembu-e*.

We may be certain that the *Hokkekyō*, as well as the *Kwanzeongyō*, the *Nehangyō*, the *Kegonkyō* and other *sūtras*, were among the texts recited on those days, and also after the death of Shōmu Tennō (A.D. 756, Tempyō Shōhō 8, V 2). These ceremonies were performed in the seven great temples of Nara on two days and on the first and second seventh days after his death. On the 19th day of the fifth month his body was cremated in the Mausoleum of Saho-yama, and on the 3rd seventh day after his death *sūtras* were read in all the temples of the capital. Vegetarian entertainments of monks took place on the fifth seventh day in *Daianji* (more than 1000 monks and novices), on the sixth in *Yakushiji*, and on the seventh in *Kōfukuji* (1100 monks and novices). On the first anniversary of his death (A.D. 757, V 2) the *shūki gosaie* was held in *Tōdaiji* (more than 1500 monks).¹

In A.D. 760 (Tempyō Hōji 4, VI 7) Kwōmyō Kwōgō, Shōmu Tennō's widow, died. Then, as seen above, for the first time the "*Sūtra* in praise of the Pure Land" (*Shōsan jōdo kyō*, 稱讚淨土經, Nanjō No. 199, translated A.D. 650 by Huen-tsang) took the place of the *Hokkekyō* and other *sūtras*, copied and recited on behalf of the souls of the dead. On the 49th day after her death, when an entertainment of the monks took place in *Tōdaiji* and in the small temples of the capital, in all provinces pictures were made of *Amida's* paradise, monks and nuns copied the *sūtra*, and in all the provincial state monasteries *Amida* was worshipped. The following year (A.D. 761, VI 7) the *Amida jōdo-in* was erected in the S.W. corner of *Hokkeji* and used for Kwōmyō Kwōgō's *shūki gosaie*, and images of *Amida sanzō* were placed in all provincial state nunneries. The following day the Emperor Junnin commanded that every year on the anniversary of her death the *Bommōkyō* (*Brahmajāla-sūtra*, Nanjō No. 1087, translated in A.D. 406 by Kumārajīva) should be expounded in *Yamashinadera* (*Kōfukuji*), whereas the Buddha Amitābha was to be worshipped

¹ Ibid, Ch. xx, pp. 314 sqq., 322

each year for seven days (on the anniversary itself and on the six following days) by ten priests in the *Amida-jōdo-in* of *Hokkeji*. In this case the *Hokkekyō* was not mentioned.¹

In A.D. 770 (Hōki 1, VIII 8) the Emperor Kōnin (A.D. 770—781), who succeeded the Empress Shōtoku, on the first seventh day after her death had *sūtras* read for her soul in *Tō-Saidaiji* (i.e. in *Tōdaiji* and *Saidaiji*, two of the seven great tempels of Nara); on the second seventh day in *Yakushiji*, on the third in *Gwan-gōji*, on the fourth he gave a vegetarian entertainment to the monks in *Daijūji*, on the fifth in *Yakushiji*, on the sixth in *Saidaiji*, and on the seventh in *Yamashina-dera* (*Kōfukuji*). On the last day in every province the monks and nuns were invited to the *Konkwōmyōji* and *Hokkeji* (the *kokubunji* and *kokubun-niji*), in order to hold a service and read the *sūtras* (in the former the *Saishōkyō* and the *Kongō-hannyakyo*, added to it in A.D. 758 (VII 28) by the Empress Kōken, and in the latter the *Hokkekyō*).²

In A.D. 781 (Ten-ō 1, IV 1) Kōnin Tennō abdicated on account of illness in favour of his eldest son, Kwammu Tennō. He died the same year (XII 23), and on the first seventh day *sūtras* were read for his soul in the Seven Great Temples of Nara, on the 2nd—6th seventh days in all temples of the capital, and on the 49th day vegetarian entertainments were given to the monks and nuns of the provincial state monasteries and nunneries, in order to promote his felicity after death (*tsuifuku*, 追福). The following year (A.D. 782, XII 23) the Emperor Kwammu issued an ordinance concerning the reading of *sūtras* (doubtless the *Saishōkyō* and the *Hokkekyō*) by the monks and nuns of all the *kokubunji* and *kokubun-niji* on the anniversary of his father's death.³

In A.D. 789 (Enryaku 8, XII 28) Kōnin Tennō's mother, the Empress Dowager, died, and the following day an Imperial Ordinance prescribed the reading of *sūtras* on the 49th day in

¹ Ibid., Ch. xxiii, pp. 384, 391.

² Ibid., Ch. xxx, pp. 527 sqq.

³ Ibid., Ch. xxxvi, p. 671; Ch. xxxvii, p. 682.

all provincial state monasteries and nunneries. On each of the seven seventh days messengers were sent to all Buddhist temples, in order to read *sūtras* for her felicity after death. On the anniversary of her decease a vegetarian entertainment took place in *Daianji*.¹

It is evident that Shōmu Tennō was a devout believer in the blessing power of the Lotus *sūtra* in driving away the demons of disease, propagating the Law, suppressing rebels and giving rest to the people, extirpating sin (*metsuzai*) (by means of the *Hokkeji*, provincial state nunneries), and procuring felicity for the souls of the dead. His successors, however, used it exclusively for the last purpose, causing the nuns of the *Hokkeji* to read it on behalf of their deceased parents and predecessors, and probably counting it among the *sūtras* to be read for the same end in the great temples of the capital. It was especially connected with females (nuns) and with masses for the dead. The former idea may have arisen from the Lord's statement in Ch. XXVIII, "Encouragement of Samantabhadra" (Kern Ch. XXVI) as to the possibility of entrusting this *sūtra* to females, provided they are possessed of four requisites. abide under the superintendence of the Buddhas, have planted good roots, steadily observe the disciplinary rules, and constantly think upon perfect enlightenment, in order to save creatures (cf. above, § 2, p. 633). In Ch. XXIII (Kern Ch. XXII) ("Ancient Devotion of *Bhaisajyārāja*, *Yaku-ō*") the Buddha promises rebirth as a male Bodhisattva in Amṛtābha's heaven to any female who shall hear and fathom this chapter. In Ch. XI ("Apparition of *Prabhūtaratna*'s stūpa") the virtuous daughter of the Nāga king Sāgara, the Lord of the Sea, is said by Mañjuśrī to have completely understood his expounding of the Lotus *sūtra*; and appearing before the Buddha she declares to have obtained enlightenment according to her wish, and presents to him "a gem which in value outweighed the whole universe". She then becomes a male Bodhisattva and

¹ Ibid, Ch. XL, pp. 756, 768.

goes to the South to preach the Law in the "spotless" (*Vimala*) world. This passage, too, may have created a certain connection between this *sūtra* and the female sex.

This *sūtra*'s great importance for the ceremonies celebrated on behalf of the dead and its great blessing influence with regard to their felicity lies in its power of extirpating sin (*metsuzai*). This was considered to be its special function, as we learned above from the *Hokke sembō*, the "Rites of Repentance celebrated by means of the Lotus", called also *Hokke sammai gyōbō*, "Rites performed by means of *samādhi* on the Lotus" (see above, Ch. VIII, § 18), and from Shōmu Tennō's institution of the *Hokke metsuzai no tera*, the provincial state nunneries or *Hokkeji*, especially established to extinguish the sins of the people. We have seen how the *Hokke sembō* became masses for the dead, and how the *Hokkedō*, the chapels where they were performed, were the mortuary chapels of the highest persons, how these ceremonies were connected with the Amitābha cult and, in the 13th and 14th centuries, with the *Higan* festival. *Metsuzai* and *meifuku* ("happiness in the dark world" of ancestors, parents and relatives) were the two great aims of the Lotus *sūtra*, and the latter idea was based upon the former To take away the sins of the dead is to give them felicity. Moreover, rebirth in the heaven of Amitābha or Maitreya was promised by the Buddha and by Samantabhadra to the faithful readers of this text (ch. 23 and 28, Kern ch. 22 and 26). And the *Hokke sammai*, the meditation on the Lotus, so powerful a means of extinguishing sin in the *Hokke sembō*, is found in the 24th chapter (Kern ch. 23), where *Myō-on Bosatsu* (*Gadgadasvara*) is said to convert and save innumerable living beings, even those in hell, by the vast knowledge obtained by this meditation. Through his preaching in manifold shapes they are converted, saved and reborn in a felicitous state. Thus it is clear why the Lotus *sūtra* was believed to be one of the most powerful texts for promoting the felicity of the dead as well as of the living.

§ 4. *The Hokkekyō in the ninth century. The Hokke sembō and Hokkedō. The three sūtras protecting the state.*

The reader is referred to Ch. VIII, § 18 (pp. 355 sqq.) with regard to the "Rites of Repentance of the Lotus" (*Hokke sembō*), called also *Hokke-sammai-gyōbō*, "Rites (performed by means of) *samādhi* on the Lotus", or *Sembōkō*, "Meetings for expounding the Rites of Repentance", based upon Chi-ché ta-shi's work entitled *Hokke sammāi sengi* or "Ceremonial rules (*kalpa*) for repentance by means of *samādhi* on the Lotus" (A.D. 589—597), and practised for the first time in Japan by Jikaku Daishi (A.D. 829 and again after his return from China in A.D. 847), as well as with regard to the *Hokkedō*, the chapels where these rites were performed.

In A.D. 822 (Kōnin 13, VI 3) Saichō (Dengyō Daishi) requested that each year on the anniversary of the Emperor Kwammu's death (III 17) according to the rule of the *Hokkekyō* two new members of the religious order should be obtained by the *Tendai-Hokkeshū* and should receive the commandments. They were to be obliged to remain on *Hieiizan* for twelve years and to practise the four kinds of *samādhi* (*jōza*, *jōgyō*, *hangyō hanza*, *higyō hiza sammāi* of the *Tendai* sect, "constantly sitting", "constantly moving", "half moving half sitting", "neither moving nor sitting").¹

In A.D. 826 (Tenchō 3, III 10) a festival for expounding the *Hokkekyō*, to last seven days (III 11—17, the last day being, as nearly always, the anniversary of the death) was given by the Emperor Junna, Kwammu's third son, on behalf of his father's soul. It took place in the *Shingon* (later *Jōdo*) shrine *Saiji* near Kyōto (dedicated to *Amitābha* by Kwammu Tennō, who gave it in A.D. 796 to Shubin 守敏) the *Shingon* priest, because Kūkai had obtained *Tōji*, both temples protecting the two capitals).²

¹ *Nihon kiryaku, Zempo*, Ch. xiv, p. 438. As to the four kinds of *samādhi* cf. *Dayū*, II, p. 2171, 2, s.v. *shishu sammāi*.

² *Dayū* II, p. 1474, 3, s.v. *Saiji*.

The *Daisōzu Gomyō* (護命, a *Hossō* priest, who lived A.D. 750—834)¹ was the *kōshū* or "Expounding Master" of the ceremony, and the entire Court made offerings. The text itself was a beautiful copy, written in golden characters by the *Dajō Tennō* himself (the Emperor Saga, Junna's elder brother, Kwammu Tennō's second son, who had abdicated in A.D. 823), richly illustrated² and provided with axes of jade, and embroidered covers, a really Imperial offering! Moreover, the Buddha Hall (with Amitābha's statue), was beautifully decorated and furnished with all kinds of ceremonial utensils. It was extremely wonderful!³

In A.D. 836 (Jōwa 3, XI 1) the Emperor Nimmō (A.D. 833—850), issued an ordinance, stating that the protective power of *Shintō* was not equal to the power of the *Ekayāna*, which turned misfortune into felicity. Relying also upon the efficacy of the practise of virtue, he deemed it proper to send a Buddhist priest to each of the provinces of the country, in order to read one copy of the *Hokkekyō* in every famous *Shintō* shrine. If the governors of the provinces regulated the matter and the task was accomplished in pure faith, *reigen* (manifestation of miraculous power) might of certainty be expected!

In A.D. 839 (Jōwa 6, VI 28) in an ordinance this devout Emperor accused the Buddhist clergy of not keeping the rules, established in former times (in A.D. 741, by the Emperor Shōmu) with regard to the *Kokubun niji* (the provincial state monasteries and nunneries) Latterly only the *Saishōkyō* was expounded at the meetings of the Retreat (*ango*) in those monasteries, but in the nunneries, intended to extirpate sin (*metsuzai*), no one explained the *Hokke myōten*, the "Wonderful text of the Lotus"! And the canons explained were not the same. This was lack of virtuous

¹ Washio, p. 336, 2, s.v. *Gomyō*.

² Cf. *Kokkwa* Nos. 15, I, II; 113, I, 16, III; 106, I; 114, I; 209, I, 218, III, IV, 313, I, 353, I—III, 261, VI, 419, I, II, all illustrations of the *Hokkekyō* of the 11th, 12th and 13th centuries.

³ *Nihon kiryaku*, *Zempen*, Ch. XIV, p. 452.

action, and for this reason thenceforth at the meetings of Retreat of all provinces first the *Saishōōkyō* had to be expounded in the monasteries, and thereupon the *Hokkekyō* in the nunneries. Then the whole people would be freed from calamities, and roots of felicity would be planted by this most virtuous action.¹

In A.D. 847 (Shōwa 14, VII 15), on the anniversary of the Emperor Saga's death (A.D. 842), Nimmō Tennō (his son) invited famous priests to the *Seiryōden*, where they explained the *Hokkekyō* and after the ceremony received Imperial robes.² The following year (Kashō 1, VII 15) the same meeting was held; the annalist enumerates four names of officiating priests, namely the *Risshi* Jitsubin (實敏, A.D. 785—853, *Sanron*, of *Saidaiji*), the *Dai-hōshū* Gwangan (願勤), Dōshō (道昌, A.D. 798—875, *Shingon*, founder of *Hōrinji*) and Kwōjō (光定, A.D. 779—858, *Tendai*, of *Hieiizan*). The second priest, Gwangan, who is not mentioned by Washio, must have been a *Hossō* priest, because this sect must have been represented as well as the *Sanron*, *Shingon* and *Tendai* sects. At the same time the Court nobles and lower officials fasted and prayed (or gave a vegetarian dinner to the priests) in the Buddhist temple on *Takao-san* (高雄山寺) in Kadono district, Yamashiro, where, as stated below (§ 12), in A.D. 802 the first *Takao Hokke-e* had been celebrated by Saichō and nine other eminent priests.³

In A.D. 847 (XI 21) *Jūichimen Kwannon* was worshipped by means of three nightly services (*Jūichimen-hō*), celebrated by 50 priests in the *Seiryōden*, where in the day-time they performed *tendoku* of the *Kongō-hannyakyo*. During the same three days

¹ *Shoku Nihon kōki*, Ch. VIII, p. 258.

² *Ibid*, Ch. XVII, p. 386

³ Washio, p. 442, 1, s.v. *Jitsubin*; p. 878, 1, s.v. *Dōshō*; p. 353, 1, s.v. *Kōjō*.

⁴ *Shoku Nihon kōki*, Ch. XVIII, p. 402. Here the term 齋祝, *saishū*, is used, the *Nihon kiryaku* (*Zempen*, Ch. XVI, p. 529), however, gives 設齋, *sessai*, *sai wo mōkuru*, the usual term for vegetarian entertainments of monks

14 priests practised the *sokusaihō* (息災法) or "ceremony for stopping calamity" in worship of the Five Wisdom Buddhas in the *Shūgon-in*, the *Shūgon* chapel in the Palace, erected by Kōbō Daishi in A.D. 834. These measures were taken against the evil influence of a meteor, seen on the previous day.¹ Thus the *Hokkekyō* was used for the benefit of the dead, and the mystic *Kwannon* rites with the *Kongō-hannyakyo* to avert evil from the living. In A.D. 849 (Kashō 2, II 14) nightly *Kwannon* services, with daily *tendoku* of the "King of *Sūtras*" (*Saishōōkyō*?), were performed for seven days in all *kokubunji* and *kokubun-niji*, and in the *jōgakuji* (定額寺), against the prevailing pestilence.²

In A.D. 850 (Kashō 3, II 22), shortly before Nimmō Tennō's death (III 21), he convoked a congregation, to be held in the *Seiryōden* under the leadership of the *Sanron* priest Jitsubin (then *Shōsōzu*), the *Hossō* priest Myōzen (明詮, A.D. 789—868, a *Daihōshi* of *Gwangōji*),³ the *Tendai* priest Kwōjō (of *Hieiizan*, a *Daihōshi*, who, like Jitsubin, had taken part in the Palace meeting of A.D. 847), and the *Sōjimon* (總持門, "*Dhāranī* doctrine, i.e. *Shūgon*)⁴ *Daihōshi* Enkyō (圓鏡). Three or four eminent priests of all sects were present and held a great discussion on the *Hokkekyō*, which was explained during three days; seated behind the Imperial *sudare* (a bamboo blind) the Emperor listened to the dispute.⁵

In A.D. 851 (Ninju 1, III 10) the *Udaiji*n Fujiwara no Ason Yoshifusa (良房, A.D. 804—872) (the author of the *Shoku Nihon koki*) invited famous priests to his mansion in the "Eastern capital" to expound the Lotus *sūtra* on behalf of the soul of his deceased Imperial Master, who the preceding year having heard about the great beauty of the cherry trees in the Minister's garden,

¹ *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. xvii, p. 388.

² *Ibid*, Ch. xix, p. 410

³ Washio, p. 1083, 1, s.v. *Myōzen*

⁴ *Dayiten*, p. 1077, 2, s.v. *sōjimon*

⁵ *Shoku Nihon kōki*, Ch. xx, p. 429.

had jokingly promised to come to see their blossoms in the following spring. But suddenly "the car of the Genius" (the Emperor) had gone away for ever, and now spring had come, the blossoms had opened, but the Genius did not return. So he spoke, full of sorrow about the loss of his beloved Master, so good and so devout, and all those present, priests as well as laymen, burst into tears; some of the Court-nobles uttered their grief in Chinese, others in Japanese poetry.¹

In A.D. 859 (Jōkwan 1, IV 18) three extremely important *sūtras*, the *Hokkekyō*, the *Saishōōkyō* and the *Ninnōkyō* (the Three State-protecting *sūtras*, *sangokoku-kyō*), are mentioned together in a lengthy *gwammon* or votive text, accompanying the Imperial gift of three *dosha*, new members of the religious order, to *Anjōji* (安祥寺), a *Shingon* shrine, erected by Montoku Tennō in Uji district, Yamashiro. The Emperor Seiwa (A.D. 858 VIII 27—876 XI 29) did this in accordance with a vow of his mother (since he was only nine years of age, the Regent (*Sesshō*), his maternal grandfather Yoshifusa, was probably the real author of the text). The new monks had to stay there for seven years, and during the three months of summer (in the Summer Retreat) they must expound those three *sūtras*.²

In the same year (VIII 21) the Empress-Dowager invited 60 monks to *Sōkyūji* (雙丘寺) and requested them to expound the *Hokkekyō* for five days, on behalf of the soul of her deceased Consort, Montoku Tennō, who died the previous year (VIII 27). On the anniversary of his death a *shūkū gosai* took place in this temple, where the Imperial Princes, the Court-nobles and high officials of the Department of Ceremonies assembled. On the preceding days all the Ministers and other officials had attended the meeting.³

According to the petition of the *Tendai* priest Eryō (惠亮)

¹ *Montoku Tennō jitsuroku*, Ch. III, p. 473.

² *Sandai jitsuroku*, Ch. II, p. 30.

³ *Ibid*, Ch. III, p. 42.

of *Hieizan*,¹ the following day two *dosha* were placed in *Enryakuji*; thenceforth this was done each year. One of these two *dosha* was to be examined on behalf of the *Shintō* god of Kamo concerning the *Daianrakukyō* (大安樂經, Nanjō No. 1034, devoted to the Bodhisattva Vajrasattva, and translated A.D. 746—771 by Amoghavajra; a Tantric *Prajñāpāramitā* text), the *Hokkekyō* and the *Konkwōmyōkyō*. The other *dosha* was to be examined on behalf of the *Shintō* god of *Kasuga* concerning the *Yumakyō*, the *Hokkekyō* and the *Konkwōmyōkyō*. In this way these great *Shintō* deities would become mighty protectors of the state.²

In A.D. 860 (Jōkwan 2, IX 20) the Emperor Seiwa granted the request of the *Shingon* priest Sanchō (三澄) and made the temple, erected by the latter on behalf of the state in Shimanoshimo district, Settsu province, a *Gogwan Shingonin*, called *Ninchōji* (忍頂寺). Thus it became a *Shingon* shrine "founded by Imperial vow" In the spring the *Saishōkyō*, in the autumn the *Hokke myōten* had to be expounded in this sanctuary, in order that these two great texts might protect the country during the first and second halves of the year.³ Here we see the great protective power, ascribed also by the *Shingon* sect to these two *sūtras*. In the same year (V 7—11) a *sai-e* was arranged by Junna Tennō's Consort, assisted by the Emperor and Empress, at which the *Hokkekyō* was expounded for five days.⁴ This was performed on the anniversary of Junna Tennō's death, for he died in A.D. 840 (V 8). The great *Tendai* priest Ennin (Jikaku Daishi, A.D. 794—864) (who even in his childhood had sworn to fathom the *Kwanzeongyō*) was the main leader of the ceremony, and at its close he gave Junna Tennō's widow the Great Bodhisattva commandments and (as a nun) the religious name of Ryōzo. The following year (A.D. 861, VI) Nimmmyō

¹ Washio, p. 58, 1, s.v. *Eryō*.

² *Sandai jitsuroku*, Ch. III, pp. 42 sq.

³ *Ibid.*, Ch. IV, p. 63.

⁴ *L.I.*, p. 59.

Tennō's widow invited him and other famous high-priests to her palace in Gojō district, Kyōto, where they expounded the *Hokkekyō* for four days, she received from him the Great Bodhisattva commandments (*Bosatsu daikai*), the *Samaya* (Jap. *sammaya*) commandments, and the "altar-baptism" (*dan-kwanjō*), and performed the "Upasatha of Mahāyāna" (*Dayō fusatsu*).¹

In A.D. 865 (Jōkwan 7, III 25) the *Shingon* priest Eun (慧運, A.D. 798—869, the founder of *Anjōji*) in a written petition to the Emperor Seiwa about the examinations and study of new members of the Buddhist clergy, mentions as the main subjects of examinations the *Hokkekyō*, the *Saishōkyō* and the Igi (威儀, i.e. the 大比丘三千威儀, *Daibiku-sanzen-igi*, "the 3000 rules of behaviour of great monks", Nanjō No. 1126, translated by An Shi-kao in A.D. 148—170).²

The same year (IV 15) the *Tendai* priest Entei (延庭) reported to the throne that in A.D. 860 he had erected *Kōryūji* (興隆寺) on Kitayama, Katono district, Yamashiro, with the images of *Senju Kwannon*, *Brahma* and *Indra*, and the Four Deva Kings. In the spring he explained the *Saishōkyō*, and in the autumn the *Hokkekyō*;³ during the Retreat (*ango*) the *Daihannakyō* was read by means of the *tendoku* system. He swore that this would protect the state to the end of time, and requested that the Emperor might make it a *gogwanji* ("temple of Imperial vow") for the practice of the *Kairitsu* (*Vinaya*) and *Shingon* doctrines, but without the direction of *sōgō* (high-priests) and *kōshū* ("expounding-masters") The Emperor Seiwa complied with this petition.⁴

In A.D. 868 (Jōkwan 10, II 18) Fujiwara no Ason Yoshinawa died, aged 55 years. Until his death he expounded the *Hokkekyō*,

¹ Ibid, Ch. VIII, pp. 145, 148 (Ennin's life)

² Ibid, Ch. X, p. 176.

³ Cf. also Ch. XVIII, p. 325 of the same work (spring and autumn, *Saishōkyō* and *Hokkekyō*).

⁴ L.I., p. 179.

yearly in the eighth month, on the anniversary of Montoku Tennō's death for the felicity of this Emperor's soul.¹

In A.D. 877 (Genkei 1, V 23) the Emperor Yōzei, Seiwa Tennō's eldest son, who was only ten years old and whose Regent (*sesshō*) was Fujiwara no Mototsune (A.D. 836—891) issued an ordinance to the effect that the *kōshū* of the Retreats of all provinces should necessarily expound the *Hokkekyō*, *Saishōōkyō* and *Ninnōkyō*. It was a year of terrible drought, and many ceremonies were performed against this calamity.²

In A.D. 878 (Genkei 2, IX 25), on the occasion of the Empress-Dowager's 50th year, the *Dayō Tennō* Seiwa gave a great vegetarian entertainment to 50 high-priests in the *Seiwa-in*, and made them explain the *Hokkekyō* for three days.³ The following year (III 24) he did so again, this time during five days, and, as in the preceding year, the Imperial Princes and Court-nobles all attended the meeting; it was intended to promote the "felicity in the dark world" (*meifuku*) of Fujiwara no Masako, Junna Tennō's Consort, who died the preceding day, aged seventy years.⁴

In A.D. 880 (Genkei 4, XII 4) Seiwa Tennō died, and on XII 11 (the first seventh day) 50 priests were invited to *Engakuji* (圓覺寺), where thenceforth until the 49th day after his death they read the *Hokkekyō* in the day-time and the *Kwōmyō shingon* at night. This was a magic formula by means of which the Buddha's light (*kwōmyō*, 光明) was obtained and all sins were "extinguished";⁵ *metsuzai* was also, as stated above, the great aim of the *Hokkekyō*, and in this way they both brought *meifuku* to the deceased.⁶ The following year (XI 26—XII 1) Seiwa Tennō's *shūki-gosai* was performed by the Empress-Dowager, in the

¹ Ibid, Ch xv, p 269

² *Fusō ryakki*, Ch xx, p 597.

³ *Sandai jitsuroku*, Ch xxxiv, p. 500.

⁴ Ibid, Ch xxxv, pp 513 sq.

⁵ *Dayiten*, p 325, 3, s.v. *kwōmyō shingon*.

⁶ *Sandai jitsuroku*, Ch xxxviii, p. 554.

Somedono palace, and during five days high-priests from all the great monasteries expounded the Hokkekyō. On the anniversary of his death (XII 4) the *Issaikyō*, copied during his reign, was sacrificed in *Engakuji*.¹

In A.D. 885 (Ninna 1, III 21) the *ryūgi* (立義) of the *Mina-zuki-Hokke-e* (六月法華會), dealt with below (§ 9, *Hokke jūkō*), are mentioned in a petition sent to the Throne by the *Tendai* priest Henshō (遍照), *Gonsōjō* and *Zasu* of *Gwangeji* (A.D. 817–890) (元慶寺, also called *Kwazanji*, 花山寺, erected in A.D. 876 in Uji district, Yamashiro).² This was the *Hokke* festival of the sixth month, established in A.D. 823 to celebrate the anniversary of Dengyō Daishi's death (A.D. 822, VI 4).³

In A.D. 886 (Ninna 2, IV 3) the Emperor Kwōkō commanded the *Konkwōmyōkyō* of four *kwan* (i.e. Nanjō No. 127, Dharmaraksha's translation of the *Suvarnaprabhāsa sūtra*, dating from the beginning of the fifth century) to be read by means of *tendoku* yearly on III 21, the anniversary of Nimmyō Tennō's death (A.D. 850), in *Unrin-in* (雲林院), and the *Myōhō-rencekyō* to be expounded during the whole Summer Retreat (three months).⁴

The same year (VII 5) the three state-protecting *sūtras*, *Hokke-kyō*, *Ninnōkyō* and *Konkwōmyō-Saishōōkyō*, are mentioned in a petition to the Emperor, sent by the *Tendai* high-priest Ensa (延最) of *Hieiizan*. According to Daichō (Dengyō Daishi's request they were expounded daily *in extenso* (*chōkō*, 長講) in the *Tōtō-in* (東塔院) and the *Saitō-in* (西塔院) (Eastern and Western pagodas) of *Enryakuji*, where the images of *Yakushi* and *Shaka* had been placed. This priest, being the head of *Saitō-in*, then asked for five monks, to be charged with the task of performing regular services in this shrine, namely *tendoku* of

¹ Ibid, Ch XL, p 573.

² Yoshida Tōgo, I, p 157, s.v. *Gwangeji*.

³ *Sandai jitsuroku*, Ch XLVII, p 659

⁴ Ibid, XLIX, pp 684 sq.

the *Daihannyakyō* in the day-time and invocation of Shaka's holy name at night.¹

§ 5. *The Hokkekyō in the tenth century. Hokkedō (Ch. VIII, § 18, Hokke-sembō). Hokke hakkō (this Chapter, § 8).*

In A.D. 902 (Engi 2, VIII 15) Uda Tennō, who had abdicated five years previously, invited more than 150 Buddhist nuns to *Danrinji* (檀林寺) in Saga, to the West of Kyōto, the first *Zen* temple of Japan and one of the five great nunneries of the country. This nunnery was founded in A.D. 850 (Kashō 3) by the Chinese priest Gikū (義空) of the Southern *Zen* sect, in fulfilment of a vow of the Emperor Saga's Consort Danrin.² The *Hokkekyō* being the special text of women (e.g. of all the provincial state nunneries, *kokubun-nyū*), it is no wonder that this meeting, which was a *fuse-kuyō* (布施供養, *dāna*) ceremony (intended to give offerings to the nuns), was mainly devoted to this *sūtra*. It was expounded in the morning, and the *Saishōōkyō* (also a *kokubunji* text) in the evening, when two of the nuns were made *dōshū* (leaders).³

In A.D. 903 (Engi 3, VIII 5) Daigo Tennō, for the sake of the soul of his deceased mother, Uda Tennō's concubine (*nyōgo*) Fujiwara no Tane-ko, who had received from her son the title of Empress Dowager, sacrificed the *Hokkekyō*, written by himself. This ceremony took place in *Kwanshūji* (勧修寺, pronounced *Kajūji*, a *Shingon* (and *Sanron*) shrine in Yamashina village, Uji district, Yamashiro province, founded by order of Tane-ko in A.D. 900 (Shōtai 3) by the Uda'in Fujiwara no Sadakata. The *Hossō* priest Shōshun, 承俊, of *Kōfukūji*, was the leader of

¹ L I, p. 692, Washio, p. 108, 1.

² *Dayūten*, p. 1187, 2, s.v. *Danrinji*; Washio, p. 168, 2, s.v. *Gikū*.

³ *Fusō ryakki*, Ch. XXIII, *uragaki* (postscriptum), p. 669.

the dedicatory ceremony of the temple and its first abbot);¹ it was performed by 170 monks, high-priests and monks of lower rank, whom the Emperor had invited to this congregation.² In A.D. 925 (Enchō 3, VIII 23) the Emperor again celebrated a similar service for her soul in the same temple, with offerings of the *Hokkekyō*, copied by himself, and an embroidered *mandara* of the *Nai-in* of the *Taizō-kai*. The *bettō* of the temple, the priest Saishū was appointed *Gon-Risshi*, a hundred monks were invited, the *Shingon* priest Eri of *Tōji* said the prayer (for her soul) (*jugwan*, 咒願), and the *Sōjō Zōmyō* (増命) (a famous *Tendai* priest of *Hieiizan* (A.D. 843—927), who baptized Uda Tennō in A.D. 905 and became *Tendai zasu* in A.D. 906),³ performed the function of *kōshi*, "Expounding Master".⁴

In A.D. 906 (Engi 6, X 23) the *Hōō* (Uda Tennō) celebrated his fortieth birthday, and three days later the Court on account of this event copied the *Hokkekyō* in golden characters in *Ninnaji*, the great *Shingon* sanctuary where he lived after his abdication under the name of *Kongō-hō*, this ceremony, like the *Hokke hakkō* (dealt with below, § 8), lasted four days and was divided into eight sessions (*hachiza*).⁵

In A.D. 918 (Engi 18, VIII 14) in the pine wood at the palace of the *Gojō no kisaki* (五條后, Montoku Tennō's mother, who died in A.D. 871)⁶ a *Buppōsō* or "Buddhist priest" bird (sometimes mentioned as having appeared and been heard during *Hokkekyō* rites) was heard at night. This was thought strange, and it was connected with the fact that the Lotus *sūtra* had been expounded there since the third day of the month.⁷

¹ *Dayu* I, p. 565, 1, s.v. *Kashuji*. One of the six branches of the *Ono* section of the *Shingon* sect is called after this temple Washio, p. 625, 1, s.v. *Shōshun*.

² *Nihon kiryaku*, *Kōhen*, Ch. I, p. 782.

³ Washio, p. 749, 2, s.v. *Zōmyō*.

⁴ *Nihon kiryaku*, I.1, p. 808; *Fusō ryakki*, Ch. xxiv.

⁵ *Nihon kiryaku*, I.1, p. 786.

⁶ *Kokushi dayūten*, p. 1088, 1, s.v. *Gojō no kisaki*.

⁷ *Fusō ryakki*, Ch. xxiv, *uragaki*, p. 692. Cf. *Nihon kiryaku*, *Kōhen*, Ch. I, p. 785 (A.D. 906, VIII, *buppōsō*), p. 802 (A.D. 918, VIII 13, *idem*).

In A.D. 919 (Engi 19, VII 5) the Emperor Daigo called the *Tendai zasu Zōmyō* (mentioned above) to the *Jijuden* of the Palace, in the Western wing of which he listened to his explanations of the *Kongō-hannyakyō*. Two days later they begun to read the *Hokkekyō*, and the Emperor commanded two officials, Minamoto no Kintada and Fujiwara no Arihira to listen to the expounding of this *sūtra*. It lasted until VIII 3, then Zōmyō returned to Hieiizan with a large number of presents from His Majesty. According to the *Fusō ryakkū* these donations consisted of priestly robes, *maki-e* lacquer boxes, and pieces of silk and brocade.¹ The *Nihon kiryaku* does not mention this ceremony, but states that there was great rejoicing on VII 7, because it rained for the first time after a long drought. Probably the *tendoku* of the *Ninnōkyō*, performed on VI 30 by 100 priests in the *Daigokuden*, was intended to cause rain, and it was perhaps for the same reason that the Emperor summoned Zōmyō to the Palace and let him explain the *Kongō-hannyakyō*. At the advent of rain the *Hokkekyō* was expounded.²

In A.D. 955 (Tenryaku 9, I 4) the Emperor Murakami copied the *Hokkekyō* in golden characters and invited famous priests to the *Kokiden* (弘徽殿) of the Palace (where the Imperial concubines lived), in order to explain the *sūtra* and receive rich presents of gold and jade and silk from the Imperial Princes and Court nobles, who ascended the stairs leading to the building and made their offerings to the priests on behalf of the soul of the late Empress Dowager, the Emperor's mother. Besides the text of the *sūtra*, copied by himself, he offered an embroidered *Hokke mandara* for her sake.³

In A.D. 963 (Ōwa 3, VIII 21) the same Emperor issued an ordinance by which he chose and invited 20 famous priests, 10 of the *Tendai* sect (of *Hieiizan*) and 10 of Nara, to the

¹ *Genkō Shakusho*, Ch. xxiv, p. 1064; *Fusō ryakkū*, Ch. xxiv, p. 675.

² *Nihon kiryaku*, *Kōhen*, Ch. I, p. 802.

³ *Genkō Shakusho*, Ch. xxv, p. 1070, *Fusō ryakkū*, Ch. xxv, p. 717 sq.

Seiryōden of the Palace, where they expounded the Lotus *sūtra* for five days. After the reading of the text a *rongi*, discussion, took place between the two groups. Of the *Tendai* priests the *Daihōshū* Ryōgen (良源, Jie Daisōjō, A.D. 913—985, who became *Tendai zasu* in A.D. 966), and of the *Hossō* priests the *Daihōshū* Hōzō (法藏, A.D. 904—968)¹ of *Tōdaiji* discussed the hidden meaning of the *sūtra*; the Emperor and his Court revered the secret purport of the *Ekayāna* and praised the mystic power of *Tendai*.² According to the *Genkō Shakusho*³ the meeting was divided into ten sessions (*jūza*), with different *dōshū* and *monja* in the mornings and evenings of the five days; thus it was a so-called *Hokke jūkō*, dealt with below, § 9

In A.D. 964 (Ōwa 4, III 15) the students of the *Hokudō* of the *Daigakuryō* (大學寮北堂) in Kyōto⁴ held a *Kwangaku-e* (勸學會, "Meeting for the encouragement of study"), because they liked to hear the Law and to enjoy and praise it. It took place at the foot of the Western acclivity of *Hieizan*, and the *Hokkekyō* was expounded. Taking one line of the *sūtra* as subject they made Chinese poems and composed *utas*. III 15 and IX 15 were indicated as the dates of their meetings, but the places were not fixed.⁵

In A.D. 980 (Tengen 3, VII 5), at the death of the Court noble Takashina Yoshitomi, the work entitled *Ōjōki* (往生記, "Records of rebirth in (Amitābha's) Heaven") is quoted, which states that this man (who had the high title of *Mabito*) cherished such a devout belief in Buddha's doctrine, that he spent the daytime in reading the Lotus *sūtra*, and prayed to Amitābha at night. Three days before his death he became a monk and received the commandments. A fragrant odour filled his house, and beautiful

¹ Washio, pp 1175, 1 and 1053, 1, s.v. *Ryōgen* and *Hōzō*.

² *Fusō ryakki*, Ch XXVI, p 734; *Nihon kiryaku*, *Kōhen*, Ch. IV, p. 898.

³ *Genkō Shakusho*, Ch XXV, p. 1071.

⁴ Cf *Kokushū dayūten*, p 1607, 3, s.v. *Daigakuryō*.

⁵ *Fusō ryakki*, Ch XXVI, p 735.

music announced the arrival of Amida's heavenly retinue, welcoming him to Paradise. Several days after his death he was still as if alive, his body showing no signs of decay.¹

With regard to the *Hokke sembō*, the "Rites of Repentance (by means) of the Lotus *sūtra*", and the *Hokkedō* or *Hokke-sammait-dō*, the chapels devoted to those rites and to the *samādhi* on the Lotus, many of which were erected in the tenth and eleventh centuries, the reader is referred to Chapter VIII, § 18, pp 357 sqq.

The *Hokke hakkō*, "Eight expoundings of the Lotus", which were also frequent in those days, are dealt with below, § 8.

§ 6. The Hokkekyō and the Kwanzeongyō in the eleventh century.

In A.D. 1007 (Kwankō 4, V 17—21) the *Hokkekyō* was expounded in the *Naiden* of the Palace by learned priests invited for this purpose. The ceremony lasted for five days.²

In A.D. 1018 (Kwannin 2, III 16) a foreign Tendai priest from *Chānsi* (鎮西) (in Central-Asia), Kawa Shōnin, 皮聖人, "The Holy Man with the furs" (cf below, § 8 C, A.D. 1005, and § 11, A.D. 1010), whose name was Gyōen (行圓) and who was also called 革上人, *Kawa Shōnin*, "The Reverend with the skin",³ "began to perform an offering of more than 69300 lamps, thus completing (the number of) the characters of the *Hokkekyō*". Probably this offering of as many lights as there were Chinese characters in the *Hokkekyō* (Kumārajīva's translations, Nanjō No 134), which took place in *Gyōgwanji* (行願寺, founded by him in Kyōto in A.D. 1005, with *Senju Kwannon* as its *honzon*) was a kind of *Hokke-sembō* or "Rite of Repentance by means of the Lotus *sūtra*"⁴

¹ Ibid., Ch. xxvii, pp. 744 sq.

² *Nihon kiryaku*, *Kōhen*, Ch. xi, p. 1069.

³ *Dayū* I, p. 706, 2, s.v. *Gyōgwanji*.

⁴ Cf. above, Ch. vii (*Mandōe*), Ch. viii, § 3 (*Bosatsu-zō-kyō*). Cf. below, this paragraph, A.D. 1044, the number of copies, 69384.

In A.D. 1021 (Chian 1, V 8), when pestilence prevailed, and seven days previously Michinaga had commenced a *Hokke sanjūkō* (cf. below, § 10), a *fudan tendoku* or uninterrupted partial reading of the *Hokkekyō* was held in the *Goden* (御殿), i.e. the *Seiryōden* of the Palace.¹

In A.D. 1022 (Chian 2, VI 4) there was a *midokyō* or "August *sūtra* reading" of the *Daihannyakyō* and the *Hokkekyō* in the Palace, in *Tōdaiji* and in *Kōfukujī* (*Kegon* and *Hossō*), because the Emperor Go Ichijō was indisposed.²

In the same year (VII 14) Michinaga dedicated the *Kondō* of *Hōjōji* (法成寺, *Teidai*) with a gold-coloured image of *Dainichi Nyorai* (*Mahāvairocana*), 32 feet high, a hundred *Shaka*'s being represented upon the lotus leaves of his throne, gold-coloured images of *Shaka* and *Yakushi* (his attendants), both 20 feet high, of the Bodhisattvas *Monju* and *Miroku* (*Mañjuśrī* and *Maitreya*), and of *Brahma*, *Indra* and the *Four Deva Kings* as maintainers of the Buddhist Law and protectors of the state. He also erected a *Godaidō* (五大堂) with the images of *Fudō Myōō* (*Acala Vidyārāja*) and the four other *Myōō* of the group of the *Godaisō*, in order to suppress angry spirits of the dead. Moreover, he copied and sacrificed the *Myōhō-rengekyō* in golden characters, and presented 150 copies of this *sūtra* in black characters. Each of the 150 priests, invited for this ceremony, received a set of priestly robes. The Emperor Go Ichijō, the Heir-apparent and the three Empresses (Michinaga's daughters) came to the temple and praised the leader, and a general amnesty was proclaimed in the Empire.³

In A.D. 1023 (Chian 3, X 23) Michinaga visited *Kongōbuji* and *Kōbō Daishi*'s mausoleum on *Kōya-san*, where he made an offering of the *Hokkekyō* and 30 *kwan* of the *Hannya rishukyō* (*Prajñāpāramitā arhaśatikā*, 般若理趣經, Nanjō No. 1034,

¹ *Nihon kiryaku, Kōhen*, Ch. XIII, p. 1126

² L 1, p. 1130.

³ *Fusō ryakki*, Ch. xxviii, p. 776.

a famous Tantric text translated A.D. 746—771 by Amoghavajra; 9 leaves) The *Gonshōsōzu* Shinyo (心譽) was the leader (*kōshi*) of the ceremony, which was performed by 30 monks of *Kongōbuji*. This was a *Tendai* priest of *Onjōji* (*Mudera*, mystic branch of the sect), who lived A.D. 957—1045; in A.D. 1022 he had been appointed head of *Hōjōji* by Michinaga.¹

In A.D. 1027 (Manju 4, VIII 22), shortly before his death (XII 4), Michinaga dedicated the *Shakadō* of *Hōjōji* with images of *Śākyamuni*, *Brahma*, *Indra*, the *Four Deva Kings*, the *Ten Great Disciples*² and the beings of the eight departments (*hachibushu*: *Devas*, *Nāgas*, *Yakshas*, *Gandharvas*, *Asuras*, *Garudas*, *Kinnaras* and *Mahoragas*);³ further a hundred gold-coloured figures of *Śākyamuni*, one *bu* in ten rolls (*kwan*) of the *Lotus sūtra*, written in *kondei* (gold paint), and a hundred copies (*bu*) of the same text, amounting to a thousand sticks (*jiku*, 軸), written in black characters. He invited 50 priests to perform the dedicatory rites and deliver the lectures.⁴

In A.D. 1030 (Chōgen 3, VIII 21) Jōtō-Monin, Michinaga's daughter Akiko (A.D. 988—1074, Ichijō Tennō's Consort and Go Ichijō Tennō's mother, who had become a nun in A.D. 1026) dedicated *Tōhoku-in* (東北院), with a *Jōgyōdō* or "Chapel of constant service" and images of *Amida*, *Kwannon* and *Seishi*, *Jizō* and *Ryūju* (*Nagārjuna*), a hundred copies of the *Myōhō-engekyō* and images of the *Twelve Spirits* (*jūni jin*, 十二神, protectors of the twelve zodiacal signs) That day they began to celebrate the constant "service for obliterating (lit. extinguishing) sin and producing virtue" (*metsuzai shōzen no gyōhō*)⁵

In the same year (V 24) the Emperor Go Ichijō ordered all

¹ L.I., p. 778, Washio, p. 471, 1, s v *Shinyo*.

² Cf the present writer's treatise on "The Arhats in China and Japan", Ch II, § 11, p. 29

³ *Daijiten*, p. 1416, 3, s v. *hachibushu*.

⁴ *Fusō ryakki*, Ch. XXVIII, p. 781.

⁵ L.I., p. 782.

provinces to have *Kwannon* images painted, sixteen feet high, and *tendoku* performed of the *Kwanzeongyō* (the 25th chapter of the Lotus *sūtra*), in order to put a stop to the prevailing plague.¹ Two years later (A.D. 1032, Chōgen 5, VI 27) he invited a thousand priests to the *Daigokuden* and caused them to read the *Kwannongyō*, in order to pray for rain, since from the second month to the end of the sixth there had been a continual drought.² Also in A.D. 1071 (Enkyū 3, I 16) a thousand priests read the *Kwanzeongyō* in the Palace in order to drive away the plague.³ Apparently this text was always used against great calamities, such as pestilence (also in A.D. 1099, Kōwa 1, V 27, 1000 priests in *Tōdaiji*, in the presence of an Imperial messenger and other officials),⁴ unrest in the world (same year, II 24, 1000 priests in the *Daigokuden*),⁵ and the appearance of a comet (A.D. 1145, Kyūan 1, V 8, 1000 priests in *Tōdaiji* and *Enryakuji*; at the same time 60 priests read the *Daihannyakyō* in the *Nanden*, with copying and offering of this enormous text in one day!). For the same reason the *Ninnōkyō* was read by 1000 priests in *Hōshōji* (V 6).⁶ Another *Kwannon* ceremony was the *Kwannongu* (供, offering), instituted by Kōbō Daishi in A.D. 834 and performed by the abbot of *Tōji* on the 18th of every month in the *Jijuden* of the Palace.⁷ In A.D. 1080 (Shōryaku, also called Jōreki, 4, II), a big fire in the Palace put an end to this rite, but in A.D. 1092 (Kwanji 6) the *Sōzu* Kyōhan (經範, a *Shingon* priest who lived A.D. 1031—1104 and became head of *Tōji* in A.D. 1092)⁸ requested the Emperor Horikawa

¹ *Nihon kiryaku, Kōhen*, Ch. xiv, p. 1155

² L I, p. 1163

³ *Genkō Shakusho*, Ch. p. 1089

⁴ *Honchō seki, Kōwa* 1, V, p. 342

⁵ L I, p. 339.

⁶ *Ibid*, Kyūan 1, V, p. 505

⁷ *Dayiten*, p. 338, 3 s.v. *Kwannongu*. It was also called *Futa-ma-gu*, 間供.

⁸ Washio, p. 187, 2, s.v. *Kyōhan*.

to have it celebrated in the *Seiryōden*, and this was commenced in A.D. 1096 (Eishō 1, I) under Kyōhan's leadership.¹

In A.D. 1040 (Chōryaku 4, X 20) a member of the Kwampaku Sadaijin Fujiwara no Yorimichi's family dedicated the *Jōgyōdō* (常行堂) of *Mudera*, with a gold-coloured *Amida* (16 feet high), the *Six Kwannons* (life-size), and a *kondei* (gold-paint) copy of the *Lotus Sūtra*.² Here, as often, this text was closely connected with the *Amida* and *Kwannon* cults

In A.D. 1044 (Chōkyū 5, III 23) a "Saint" (阿古也聖) (evidently a foreigner) exhorted all the people, of both high and low rank, men and women, to make 69384 copies of the *Hokkekyō* (this was the number of the characters of the text, mentioned above with regard to Kawa Shōnin's light offering in A.D. 1018), and to transport them to *Hieizan*.³

In A.D. 1052 (Eishō 7, III 28) Yorimichi made his villa at *Uji* in Yamashiro into a Buddhist temple and called it *Byōdō-in* (平等院) Its *Butsuden* is the famous Phoenix-hall (*Hōōdō*), with an image of *Amida*, 16 feet high, as its *honzon*. It is a *Tendai* shrine, belonging to *Mudera*; but also the *Jōdo* sect considers it one of its temples, being Yorimichi's *bodaiشو* ("bodhi place") Like his father Michinaga was called the "*Hōjōji no Kwampaku*", Yorimichi's popular name was *Uji no Kwampaku*. When he founded the temple, he had *Hokke sammai* rites performed there. In A.D. 1056 (Tenki 4) he added a *Hokkedō* to it, and in A.D. 1061 (Kōhei 4) a *Tahōtō* or *Prabhūtaratna pagoda*. Afterwards, when he was ill, his son Morozane erected a *Godaidō* (chapel of the Five *Vidyārājas*) and a bell-tower on his behalf, and held a large religious meeting (*daihōe*).⁴

In A.D. 1060 (Kōhei 3, XI 26) Yorimichi celebrated the 90th

¹ *Genkō Shakusho*, Ch xxvi, pp 1095 sq

² *Fusō ryakki*, Ch. xxviii, pp. 787 sq.

³ L I, p 790.

⁴ *Ibid*, Ch xxix, p. 796, *Dayūten*, p. 1494, 1. *Dayū* III, p. 3937, 2, s.v. *Byōdō-in*.

birthday of the *Daisōjō* Myōson (明尊, a learned *Tendai* priest of *Onjōji* (*Mudera*), who lived A.D. 971—1063) by making a picture of *Shaka* and having 90 copies of the Lotus *sūtra* written. He congratulated him in a large assembly of priests of all sects, held in his Shirakawa village.¹

In A.D. 1063 (Kōhei 6, X 29) by order of the Court on *Hieiizan*, in the compound of *Enryakuji*, a chapel was erected, called *Jissō-in* (實相院), with gold-coloured images of *Yakushi*, *Nyoirin Kwannon* and *Monju*; and a *Sammaidō*, with a *saptaratna* (*shippō*) *stūpa*, containing a gold-paint (*kondei*) copy of the Lotus *sūtra*, for *Hokke sammai* rites, in order to extirpate crime and to produce virtue.²

In A.D. 1065 (Kōhei 8, IX 25) the Court, on behalf of the soul of the former Emperor Go Suzaku, the father of the reigning Emperor Go Reizei (A.D. 1045—1068); who died in A.D. 1045, held a *hachiza-hōe* or “meeting of eight sessions”, lasting four days. The offerings, made by His Majesty, were a copy of the *Hokkekyō*, written by himself in golden characters, and images of *Shaka*, *Monju* and *Fugen* (*Shaka sanzō*), made of white sandalwood. The ceremony took place in the Palace, in the Eastern wing of the Emperor’s residence.³

In A.D. 1070 (Enkyū 2, XII 26) (cf. above, Ch. XI, § 8, C), when the Emperor Go Sanjō erected *Enshūji*, a *Tendai* temple situated to the South of *Ninnaji*, a copy of the *Hokkekyō*, written in golden characters, was laid in a *kondō* (gold-copper) pagoda, three feet high, and placed in the *Hokkedō* of that sanctuary. Six priests had to practise the *Hokke sammai* in that chapel, namely the *hangyō hanza* (partly moving, partly sitting) *samādhi*, “in distant expectation of the days of the Dragon-flower”, i.e. of the Buddha Maitreya’s arrival on earth, when he shall hold his three meetings under the Dragon-flower tree in the presence of

¹ *Fusō ryakki*, II., p. 801; Washio, p. 1084, I, s.v. *Myōson*.

² *Fusō ryakki*, II., p. 806

³ L.I., p. 808

all those who in their former lives have believed in him and worshipped him. These "three meetings of the Merciful Saint" (*Jison no sanne*) were also mentioned in A.D. 1063 (X 29) at the erection of the *Sammaidō* of *Enryakuji*, there the *hangyō hanza* rites of *samādhi* on the Lotus were said "to extinguish crime and produce virtue", here protection of the State and guidance to salvation (*inshō*, 引接) are indicated as their sublime results ¹

In A.D. 1073 (Enkyū 5, V 1) 500 priests were invited to the Palace, in order to sacrifice and read (by means of the *tendoku* system) 1000 copies of the *Hokkekyō* (such meetings were called *Hokkesembu-e*). It is not said that this was done because the Dajō Tennō (Go Sanjō) was very ill; but this was probably the case, since he died six days later, at the age of forty. ²

In A.D. 1085 (Ōtoku 2, V 10) the Emperor Shirakawa, who abdicated the next year, summoned the *Tendai* priest Zōyo (増譽, A.D. 1032—1116) of *Mudera* (who in A.D. 1105 became *zasu* of *Enryakuji*) to his private apartments in the Palace, and received from him the doctrine of the Lotus *sūtra*, i.e. he listened to his explanations of the deeper meaning of this text. As a reward he conferred upon him the title of *Hō-in*, "Seal of the Law". ³

In A.D. 1092 (Kwanji 6, VII 13) the Emperor Horikawa (then only 12 years old) went to *Kimbusen* (金峯山), whither his father, Shirakawa Tennō (the *Dajō Tennō*), had gone 11 days previously. *Kimbusenji* is a *Tendai* shrine near Yoshina village, Yoshino district, Yamato; it is also called *Konrin-ō-ji*, 金輪王寺. In olden times it belonged to the *Shingon* sect as well as to the *Tendai*. Its main building in Yoshino, at the foot of the mountain, is called *Zaō-Gongen-dō* (藏王權現堂) or *Zaō-dō*, and its *Oku-no-in* or "Inner temple", dedicated to the

¹ L I, pp. 817 sq

² L I., p. 824

³ *Genkō Shakusho*, Ch. xxv, p. 1093, Washio, p. 750, 1, s.v. *Zōyo*.

same deity (*Kongō Zaō*, *Vajragarbha*), is situated on the summit. Since the middle-ages a great many monks lived on the mountain, where there were hundreds of buildings, both large and small. It was an ancient sanctuary, founded in the seventh century by En no Shōkaku (役小角, the famous hermit of mount Katsuragi, banished in A.D. 699 to Izu because he was accused of sorcery). *Zaō Gongen* is also called *Kongō-zaō* (金剛藏王, *zaō* being the usual pronunciation instead of *zōō*). Like Śākyamuni he is considered by the Tantric School to be a transformation of *Kongōsatta* (*Vajrasattva*); in this respect he may be said to be identical with Śākyamuni. He is represented as an angry deity, standing on two lotus seats in a trampling attitude, with his right leg raised. In his right hand he brandishes a three-pointed vajra, and the fingers of his left hand are outspread. Some authors identify him with *Kongōzō Bosatsu*, the Bodhisattva *Vajragarbha*.¹ In this temple Horikawa Tennō sacrificed 100 copies of the *Hokkekyō*, five written in *kondei* (gold-paint) characters, one copied by himself in golden writing, and (according to the *Genkō Shakusho*) five copies of the *Dayōkyō* (the *Mahāyāna sūtras* of the Canon, here, however, it gives the impression of being the abbreviated title of a special *sūtra*, since the title of many *sūtras* begins with *dayō*). He invited 100 priests, to whom he distributed 100 priestly robes (*kāsāya*). The *dōshi* or leader of the ceremony was the *Gonsōjō Ryūmyō* (隆明) (A.D. 1020–1104) of *Onjōji* (*Mudera*), who three days previously, when His Majesty suddenly felt indisposed while in the “precious pagoda” at the foot of the mountain, had cured him by means of incantations (*kaji*).²

With regard to the *Hokke* festivals, rites of repentance and *samādhi* chapels, so numerous in this and the following centuries,

¹ *Dayūten*, p. 484, 1, s.v. *Kongō zōō*, *Dayū* II, p. 1493, 1, s.v. *Zaō Gongen*.

² *Fusō ryakki*, Ch. xxx, p. 844, *Genkō Shakusho*, Ch. xxvi, p. 1095, Washio, p. 1159, 2, s.v. *Ryūmyō*.

the reader is again referred to § 8 of this chapter and to Ch. VIII, § 18.

§ 7. *Japanese sects in connection with the Hokkekyō.*

Among the many Japanese priests in whose biographies the Lotus *sūtra* is specially mentioned, the majority belonged, of course, to the Tendai sect. In a list of 66 names, made after studying the biographies given by Washio, we find 32 Tendai, 19 Shingon, 10 Hossō, and 3 Kairitsu priests; only one *Sanron* and one *Kegon* monk.

The series begins with Shōtoku Taishi (A.D. 574—622). Then follows Hōdō (法道) (A.D. 650), said to be an Indian priest, who came to China and Japan, borne by a purple cloud. He was a hermit who lived on *Hokkesan* in Harima province, always read the *Hokkekyō*, and worshipped *Senju Kwannon*, whose copper image he placed in the chapel, erected there by order of the Emperor Kōtoku, whom he had cured by his prayers in A.D. 649. During the seven days of his stay in the Palace he explained the Law and held a *musha-e* or "unlimited meeting". The following year, as the chapel had been completed, the Emperor himself went to the mountain and held a *kuyō-e* or dedicatory meeting. In A.D. 651 the hermit led a *Daizōkyō-e* and a *Sai-e* in the Palace; then, having declared himself to be a *ṛṣi* (*sennin*) from the Vulture Peak in India, whose only aim in coming to Japan had been to lead the people to salvation, he pronounced a *gāthā* and flew away through the air.¹

In the eighth century the nun Shari-ni or "*Śarīra*-nun", called *Shari Bosatsu*, who was born in A.D. 750, was a devout reader of the *Hokke* and *Kegon sūtras*.² Myōichi (明一) (A.D. 728—798) of *Tōdaiji*, whose sect is not given (probably *Hossō* or *Kegon*),

¹ *Genkō Shakusho*, Ch. XVIII, pp. 950 sq.; Washio, p. 1054, 1, s.v. *Hōdō*.

² Washio, p. 485, 1, s.v. *Shari-ni*.

wrote commentaries on the *Hokkekyō* and the *Saishōōkyō*.¹ The Hossō priest Jōrō (常樂, A.D. 741—814), having made a vow, during 40 years performed *tendoku* of the *Hokkekyō*, thus reading 124960 *kwan*. At the same time he read the *Hannya-shinkyō* daily, perusing it 108 times (the sacred number of Buddhism, cf. the beads of the rosary). As to the number of the *kwan* of the *Hokkekyō*, if he performed daily *tendoku* of 8 *kwan* (i. e. the whole *sūtra*), without the intercalary months this would have made 115200 *kwan* in 40 years.²

In the ninth century Dengyō Daishi, Jikaku Daishi, Sōō and other great leaders of the Tendai sect propagated the Lotus *sūtra* and its main doctrine of the "Only Vehicle" (*Ekayāna*) and made it one of the principal texts of Japanese Buddhism. At the same time the Hossō priest Gomyō (護命, A.D. 750—834) of *Gwangōji*, who in A.D. 805 and in A.D. 808 explained the *Saishōōkyō* in the *Daigokuden*, and the *Yuumakyō* in *Yamashinadera* (*Kōfukuji*), in A.D. 826 (III 10) expounded the *Hokkekyō* in the *Shingon* shrine *Saiji*, as *kōshū* of a meeting of learned priests from Nara and Kyōto, held by the Emperor Junna.³ In A.D. 850 (II 22) the Sanron priest Jitsubin, the Hossō priest Myōzen, the Tendai priest Kwōjō, and the Shingon priest Enkyō explained the *Hokkekyō* in the *Seiryōden* in the presence of Nimmyō Tennō, and for three days a great discussion took place between the eminent scholars of these sects.⁴ Two years earlier (A.D. 848, VII 15), on the second anniversary of the Emperor Saga's death, the Shingon priest Dōshō, the Tendai priest Kwōjō, the Sanron priest Jitsubin and the (probably Hossō) priest Gwargon, expounded the Lotus *sūtra* in the *Seiryōden* for the sake of that Emperor's soul.⁵ This is evidence of the fact

¹ L.I., p. 1076, 2.

² L.I., p. 674, 1

³ L.I., p. 337, 1, see above, § 4, p. 655.

⁴ See above, § 4, p. 657.

⁵ See above, *ibid.*

that the Hossō, Sanron, Tendai and Shingon sects studied, explained and discussed this *sūtra* from their different points of view as a text of the utmost importance and blessing power.

In the tenth century the Hossō priests were still prominent in this respect, although, of course, the Tendai sect was by far the greatest propagator of the *Hokkekyō*. In later ages, however, (in the 11th, 12th and 13th centuries) the Shingon sect paid much attention to this *sūtra*, besides the Tendai, Nichiren and Amida sects. Kaiitsu priests are also sometimes mentioned in connection with this *sūtra*, e.g. in A.D. 1286 Sōji (*Hokke sembō*).¹ In the seventeenth century we notice a revived action with regard to the *Hokkekyō* in the Shingon sect, and also a Kegon priest (Eishō, 英性, A.D. 1611—1677, a learned monk of Tōdaiji, one of the leaders of the *Hokke hakkō* in the Palace in the Manji era, A.D. 1658—1661, who restored the glory of the *Hokke-e* and the *Yuima-e*) distinguished himself in this respect.² In short, like the *Amitābha sūtras* the *Hokkekyō* was generally venerated by all sects, from olden times down to the present day.

§ 8. *The Hokke hakkō (法華八講) or "Eight Expoundings of the Lotus". The Enshūji, Hōshōji and Sonshōji Go-hakkō.*

The so-called *Hokke hakkō* are festivals devoted to the eight *kwan* (fasciculi) of the Lotus *sūtra*, which are explained in eight sessions (*za*, 座). They are also called *Go* (or *Mi*) *hakkō* or simply *Hakkō*. By adding the so-called *kaiketsu nikyō* (開結二經), the "opening and closing *sūtras*", namely the *Muryō gikyō* (無量義經, *Amitārtha-sūtra*, Nanjō No. 133) and the *Kwan-Fugengyō* (觀普賢經, *Sūtra* on the meditation on

¹ Washio, pp. 745 sq.

² L.I., p. 75, 2.

Samantabhadra, Nanjō No 394),¹ expounded by the *Tendai* sect before and after the *Lotus sūtra* (Nanjō No. 134) and together with it called by the collective term of *Hokke sambu* (三部), the *Hokke jūkō* (十講, "Ten expoundings") are formed, meetings of ten sessions. As to the *Hokke sanjūkō* (三十講, "Thirty expoundings"), these are divided into 30 sessions, in which the *Muryōgikyō* (1 fasc.), the 28 chapters of the *Lotus sūtra*, and the *Kwan-Fugengyō* (1 fasc.) are explained. The *hakkō*, *jūkō* and *sanjūkō* are all *Hokke-e* or *Hokke mondō-kō* (問答講, "Expoundings with questions and answers").

In China the priest Hwui-ming (慧明, Emyō) is said to have been the first to expound the *Lotus sūtra* in eight sessions, due to the fact that, according to the *T'ien-t'ai* sect, the Buddha explained the *Lotus* during the last eight years of his life (*Hokke hachinen*, 八年, "eight years of the Lotus", from his 72th to his 80th year) The *Sanron* and *Hossō* sects, however, consider this supreme preaching to have taken place during the last five years before the Lord's *Parinirvāṇa*.²

§ 8, A. *Hokke hakkō of the ninth century*

In Japan this kind of *Lotus* meeting became very frequent. In A.D. 796 (Enryaku 15) the *Sanron* priest Gonzō (勤操) (A.D. 758—837), a learned and virtuous monk, who in A.D. 810 expounded the *Saishōōkyō* in the *Daigokuden* of the Imperial Palace, and in A.D. 826 became *Daisōzu*,³ was the first to preach on the eight fasciculi of the *Lotus sūtra* during four days in eight sessions (one in each session), in order to promote the *meifuku* ("felicity in the dark world") of the priest

¹ Cf above, Ch VIII, § 8, p 270.

² *Dayten*, p. 1598, 3, s.v. *Hokke hachinen*.

³ Washio, p 387, 2, s.v. *Gonsō* (in the *Daigyō* called *Gonzō*; the *nigori* is omitted or used by Japanese authors in a very arbitrary way).

Eikō's mother, who died after hearing of her son's death. Being a *Sanron* priest, he could not have thought of the *Hokke hachinen*, but the number of the fasciculi was, of course, the only reason for this division. It was again a *meifuku* ceremony; he performed it with 7 other monks (8 men, 8 sessions; each of them explained one fasciculus, *kwan*) in his monastery, *Iwabuchi-dera* (石淵寺) in Yamato; hence it is known as *Iwabuchi-hakkō*.¹ He himself named it *Hokke hakkō-e*, but the monks of the other monasteries, who emulated his example, called it after his monastery. The *jūkō* and *sanjūkō* were also derived from this ceremony.²

In A.D. 889 (Kwampyō 1, IX 24) a *Hokke hakkō* was performed in the *Shingon* shrine *Kajōji* (嘉祥寺),³ which in Kashō (Kajō) 3 (A.D. 850) by order of Nimmyō Tennō was founded by the famous *Shingon* priest Shinga (眞雅, A.D. 801–879). Nimmyō Tennō died the same year (III 21); it is possible that Uda Tennō (A.D. 888–897) had this ceremony held for the sake of his grandfather Nimmyō's soul, because in A.D. 851 the *Seiryōden* of the Palace, where he died, was made into a Buddhist chapel and *Kajōji* was transferred to that place. Its *honzon* was *Daishō Kwangiden*, 大聖歡善天, i.e. *Ganeśa*. Afterwards it became a *betsu-in* (a detached shrine) of the great *Shingon* sanctuary *Ninnaji*, or, according to others, of the *Tendai* shrine *Anrakugyō-in*. In many respects the two great sects, *Tendai* and *Shingon*, were joined and mixed up at ceremonies, as was also the case with the Amida doctrine. Especially the mystic branch of the *Tendai* sect was, of course, liable to be connected with the *Shingon* sect, whose priests were often the leaders of *Tendai* ceremonies. As to *Kajōji*, by its name it was associated with the Lotus *sūtra*, because Kih-tsang (吉藏), alias the "Great Master of the Kia-siang monastery" (Kia-siang Ta-shi, Kajō Daishi), the founder of the *San-lun* (*Sanron*) sect in China,

¹ *Genkō Shakusho*, Ch. II, *Gonzō's* biography, p. 669

² *Nihon kiryaku*, *Zempen*, Ch. XX, p. 752.

³ *Daiju*, I, p. 566, 3, s.v. *Kajōji*.

who lived A.D. 549—623, was, as seen above (§ 1, B), one of the greatest Chinese commentators of this *sūtra*.

§ 8, B. *Hokke hakkō and Go hakkō of the tenth century.*

In A.D. 901 (Engi 1, VIII 23) the *Dajō Hō-ō* (Uda Tennō, who in A.D. 897 (VII 3) had abdicated in favour of his son Daigo Tennō and had become the first *Hō-ō*) opened a *Hokke hakkō* in *Ninnaji* (仁和寺, *Shingon* temple N.W. of Kyōto, founded in A.D. 886), it lasted four days (2 sessions every day). Thus the *Shingon* sect, represented by its devout Imperial follower, showed once more its close attachment to the Lotus text.¹

The following year (IX 17) a *Hokke-e* was held in the same shrine,² and in A.D. 906 (Engi 6, VIII, before the 7th day) the Uda'in (one of the Fujiwara's) performed a *Hokke hakkō*; the place is not mentioned "*Buppōsō* (佛法僧, "Buddhist priest") birds (a certain species, according to Brinkley s.v. *Eurystomus orientalis*) came there and sung", says the annalist, who evidently considers this as an omen concerning the ceremony.³ In A.D. 918 (Engi 18, VIII 13) he relates the same fact at a *Hokke jūkō*.⁴

In A.D. 909 (Engi 9, III 9) the *Dajō Hō-ō* (Uda Tennō) practised a *Hokke hakkō* in *Ninnaji*. He did so to perform a meritorious work for the sake of his soul after death, a so-called *gyakushu no kudoku* (逆修之功德). The word *gyaku* is to be taken here in the sense of *arajakime*, "beforehand"; therefore the term is also written 豫修, *yoshu*. It means *meifuku* ceremonies celebrated by a man himself before his death.⁵

In A.D. 948 (Tenryaku 2, X 22) we read the term *Go hakkō*,

¹ *Nihon kiryaku, Kōhen*, Ch. I, p. 780.

² L1, p. 781

³ L1, p. 785.

⁴ L1, p. 802.

⁵ *Daijiten*, p. 272, 3, s.v. *gyakushu*; *Nihon kiryaku, Kōhen*, Ch. I, p. 789.

御八講, "Imperial Eight Expoundings", for the first time. It began on X 22 and took place in *Hōshōji* (法性寺). This was a *Tendai* shrine, situated in the South of Kujō, East of the Kamogawa (Kyōto), and founded by Teishinkō (貞信公) (Fujiwara no Tadahira) (A.D. 880—949). In A.D. 934 it became a *jōgakuji* (定額寺), i.e. it was added to the fixed number of Buddhist temples, officially sanctioned by the Emperor. For nine generations its leaders belonged to the mystic branch of the sect, initiated by Jikaku Daishi (Ennin) (A.D. 794—864).¹ According to the *Ranjōshō* in Tentoku 4 (A.D. 960, I 4) the *Hōshōji hakkō* were begun by the *Kuge*, the Court.² This seems to indicate two different ceremonies of the same name, both *Hokke hakkō* and both celebrated in *Hōshōji*, but since this is not very likely, we suppose the author of the *Ranjōshō* to be mistaken. Yet it is strange that even the months are different (X 22 and I 4), and that the word *go*, "August", "Imperial", is omitted in the latter passage.

In A.D. 954 (Tenryaku 8, XII 5) the *Tendai* priest Ryōgen (良源), i.e. Jie Daisōjō (慈惠大僧正) (A.D. 913—985), of *Enryakuji* on *Hieiizan* (appointed *zasu* in A.D. 966)³ invited the *Hossō* priest Gishō (義照) (A.D. 920—969), a learned monk of *Gwangōji* (*Sanron*), who was versed in *rongi* (discussions on the Law and the meaning of passages of holy scriptures), to *Enryakuji*, in order to perform the *Hokke hakkō* for four days. One of the high officials, the *Ubokuya*, ascended the mountain and listened to the explanations of the text.⁴ The *Fusō ryakki* adds as further details that there were 15 or 20 *monja* (問者), "priests who put questions", and that the Right Minister Fujiwara

¹ *Dayu*, III, p. 4125, 1, *Dayūten*, p. 1603, 1, s.v. *Hōshōji*.

² *Ranjōshō*, 濫觴抄, written after A.D. 1252, *Gunsho ruiyu*, Ch. 465, Vol. XVI, p. 989 (Ch. 下).

³ Washio, p. 1175, 1, s.v. *Ryōgen*.

⁴ *Genkō Shakusho*, Ch. xxv, p. 1070.

no Morosuke (A.D. 908—960), Tadahira's son (Kujō dono), attended the meeting.¹

In A.D. 955 (Tenryaku 9, I 4) the Emperor Murakami had a *Go hakkō* held in the *Kokiden* (弘徽殿), a building of the Palace, for the sake of the soul of his deceased mother. It lasted four days, and there were four *shōgi* (證義) (also called *shōgisha*, 證義者, 精義者, "those who verify, give evidence of the meaning", or "those who give the essential meaning", who, having ascended the pulpit, decide the rightness or wrongness of the questions and answers (*mondō*) of the *ryūgi*, 立義),² four *kōshū* (講師, "Expounding Masters"), twenty *chōshū* (聽衆, "hearers"), fourteen (2 × 7) *bon-on* (梵音, "Brahman sounds"), singers of the *gāthās* in praise of the Buddha, and fourteen *shakujō* (錫杖, "*khakkharas*", i.e. priests who carry and swing the magical staffs with metal rings), in all sixty persons.³

In A.D. 998 (Chōtoku 4, XII 21) Higashi-Sanjō-In (東三條院, i.e. Fujiwara no Senshi, 詮子, A.D. 967—1001, Consort of Enyū Tennō, mother of the then reigning Emperor Ichijō, the first Empress who after the death of her Consort in A.D. 991 had become a nun under the name of Higashi-Sanjō-In) performed the *Hokke hakkō*; but it is not stated where she led this ceremony.⁴

§ 8, C. *Hokke hakkō and Gohakkō of the eleventh century.*
Michunaga, Jōtō-Monin. Tendai ni-e and sanne. Enshūji Gohakkō.

In A.D. 1000 (Chōhō 2, V 14) "Higashi Sanjō-In commenced a *Hokke hakkō*; it lasted five days". Twelve days later there

¹ *Fusō ryakki*, Ch. xxv, p. 717. There is a hiatus in the *Nihon kiryaku* from A.D. 950 to the beginning A.D. 957.

² *Dayūten*, p. 845, 1, s.v. *shōgisha*.

³ *Dayū*, III, p. 4104, 2, s.v. *Hokke hakkō*, quoting the *Shoreishō*, 初例抄, 卷下.

⁴ *Nihon kiryaku, Kōhen*, Ch. x, Ichijō Tennō, p. 1037.

was a similar ceremony in the palace of the *Sadaijin* Fujiwara no Michinaga (A.D. 966—1027), because the Empress-Dowager (Higashi Sanjō-In) and Michinaga himself were ill.¹

In A.D. 1001 (Chōhō 3, IX 14) Michinaga offered his congratulations to Higashi Sanjō-In and celebrated her 40th birthday by beginning to perform a *Hokke hakkō*; his *jushin* (侍臣, attendants) accompanied the ceremony by dancing.² The following year (Chōhō 4, III 1) Michinaga again led a *Hokke hakkō*,³ and from X 23 to 25 a *Go hakkō* was celebrated. The *kōshū* of the morning sessions was the Risshi Ingen (院源, a *Tendai* priest of *Enryakuji*, who lived A.D. 954—1028 and in A.D. 1020 became *zasu*)⁴ and was now appointed *Gon-shōsōzu*, and the *kōshū* of the evening sessions was Jōshō (靜昭), who obtained the title of *Hokkyō*, 法橋, "Bridge of the Law". On the second day the Court and the Empress (*kuge* and *chūgū*) (Fujiwara no Akiko, Michinaga's daughter, after A.D. 1026 Jōtō-Mon-in), sent their offerings (*mi-sasage-mono*, 御捧物). On the 25th the *kechigwan* (結願, "finishing the vow") took place, and 60 *dosha* (new members of the religious community) were introduced.⁵

In A.D. 1004 (Kwankō 1, V 19) Michinaga performed a *Hokke hakkō* on behalf of the soul of the late Higashi-Sanjō-in, who died in A.D. 1001 (Chōhō 3, Interc. XII 22).⁶ On the third day the offerings of the House of Michinaga, the Imperial Princes and the Court nobles were sent, in connection with the expounding of the fifth *kwan* of the *sūtra*. His Majesty (Ichijō Tennō) sent his offerings through the *Shikibujo* (式部丞, Vice-Minister of Ceremonies) Fujiwara no Tadataka, and the *Hōō* Kwazan (who

¹ L.I., p. 1042

² L.I., p. 1047.

³ L.I., p. 1050

⁴ Washio, p. 17, 2, s.v. *Ingen*.

⁵ *Nihon kiryaku*, I.I., p. 1052.

⁶ L.I., p. 1049.

had abdicated in A.D. 986) also sent *sasage-mono*. The ceremony was accompanied by music and dances, and the Imperial messenger as well as the Imperial Princes and the Ministers gave *hukide-mono* (引出物, presents) to the priests).¹

In A.D. 1005 (Kwankō 2, VII 25) *hakkō*, celebrated at the erection of *Gyōgwanji* (行願寺) in Ichijō district, Kyōto, were attended by many persons of high and low rank, in order to "form relations" (*kechi-en*, 結縁, namely relations with the Buddha road in future lives).²

In A.D. 1012 (Chōwa 1, V 15) the Empress-Dowager (Fujiwara no Akiko), whose Consort Ichijō Tennō had died the previous year, held a *Hokke hakkō*, evidently for the felicity of his soul. This ceremony took place in the *Biwa-dono* (枇杷殿), Fujiwara no Mototsune's palace in the East of Muromachi, Kyōto, and was on V 27 followed by a *shūki-hōe* in *Enkyōji*.³

In A.D. 1013 (Chōwa 2, V 4) there was a *Hokke hakkō* in Michinaga's palace, and in A.D. 1018 (Kwannin 2, XII 14) he performed a similar ceremony in *Kyōgokuin* (京極院), a temple in *Sanjō-kawara*, Kyōto.⁴

In A.D. 1022 (Chian 2, VIII 22) Michinaga and the highest officials visited *Hōjōji* (法成寺), the *Tendai* sanctuary erected by him and dedicated the preceding month in the presence of the Emperor Go Ichijō and his whole Court (VII 14). They went then to this temple to hear the expounding of the *fifth kwan* (of the *Hokkekyō*, on the third day) of the *Hokke hakkō*. A month later (IX 15) he again celebrated the *Hakkō* in the same shrine.⁵

In A.D. 1026 (Manju 3, III 20) a *Go hakkō* took place in the

¹ L1, Ch. xi, pp. 1057 sq.

² L1, p. 1062. As to the Central-Asiatic founder of this shrine cf. below § 11 (*Hokke Sembu-e*), above § 6, A.D. 1018.

³ L1, Ch. xii, p. 1088.

⁴ L1, p. 1092, Ch. xiii, p. 1118.

⁵ L1, pp. 1130 sq.

Imperial Palace; on the same day the *Amida-dō* of *Hōjōji* was dedicated. In the same year (V 19) the Empress (Michinaga's daughter Ishi, 威子, A.D. 999—1036) performed a *Hokke hakkō* on behalf of the soul of the late Sanjō Tennō, who died in A.D. 1017.¹

In A.D. 1027 (Manju 4, VII 2) the *Gohakkō* of *Hōkōin* (法興院), a *Hossō* temple in the North of Nijō district, Kyōto, was held in *Hōjōji*, because the former shrine had burnt down in the first month of that year (I 3). The following month (VIII 22) the *Hokke hakkō* of the *Shakadō* of *Hōjōji* took place.²

In A.D. 1028 (Chōgen 1, XII 4), on the anniversary of Michinaga's death, in the *Muryōjuin* (dedicated to Amitābha) of *Hōjōji*, where he died, *ryōkai-mandara*'s (mandalas of the *Kongōkai* and the *Taizōkai*, *Vajradhātu* and *Garbhadhātu*) were dedicated, and ten eminent priests (*ryūzō*, 龍象, "Nāgas and elephants") were invited to perform the *Hokke hakkō* on behalf of his soul.³ According to the *Sakyōki* (左經記) the *Go hakkō* had been celebrated for many years past, but thenceforth 40 hearers (*chōshu*) were invited, and learned priests from Nara and Kyōto (*namboku gakusha*) were appointed *ryūgi* (豎義). Thus the *Go hakkō* were enlarged and made analogous to the *Yuimae*, which had *ryūgi* even before A.D. 834 (cf. above, Ch. XV, § 4 C, p. 602). The *Dayu* deduces from this passage that the *Go hakkō*, celebrated for Michinaga's *meifuku*, became an annual festival, and we actually find it mentioned as the *Hōjōji Midō Hakkō* in A.D. 1276 (XI 30—XII 4).

In A.D. 1029 (Chōgen 2, Interc II 13) Jōtō-Monin, the Empress-Dowager Aki-ko, who had become a nun in A.D. 1026, attended a *Hokke hakkō* held by the *Kwampaku* Fujiwara no Yorimichi, Michinaga's eldest son and successor, in his mansion on behalf

¹ L.I., p. 1140

² L.I., pp. 1143 sq.

³ L.I., Ch. XIV, p. 1150.

⁴ *Dayu* III, p. 4104, 2, s.v. *Hokke hakkō*.

of their father's soul; at the same time Yōrimichi sacrificed a copy of the *Hokkekyō*, written out by himself.¹ The same year a *Ninnō hakkō* (仁王八講) (V 13—16) was held for four days in the *Seiryōden* of the Palace; this was also called *Go hakkō*. This indicates the constant rise of the influence of the *Ninnōkyō* and its festivals.²

In A.D. 1035 (Chōgen 8, III 25) Jōtō-Monin began to perform *Hokke hakkō* and dedicated (*kuyō*) a silver image of *Amida Butsu*, three *shaku* (feet) high.³

In A.D. 1065 (Chiryaku 1, IX 25—28) a *hachi-za-kō* or "Expounding in eight sessions" was arranged in the Imperial Palace by the Emperor Go-Reizei (A.D. 1045—1068), in praise of the "King of *Sūtras*" (*kyō-ō*) written in golden characters by His Majesty and dedicated by him for the sake of the soul of the former Emperor, his father Go-Suzaku Tennō (died in A.D. 1045), together with altar images of *Shaka sanzō* (Śākyamuni, Mañjuśrī and Samantabhadra).⁴

In A.D. 1072 (Enkyū 4, X 25) the *Fusō ryakkū* mentions the *Nie-hakkō*, 二會八講, the "Eight expoundings of the two festivals" of *Enshūji*, but this was only the *Hokke-e*, which began on X 25 and ended X 29 (*ketsugwan no za*), and was attended by the Emperor Go-Sanjō on the first and third days. These "two festivals" were the *Hokke-e* and the *Saishō-e*. It was the first time such a *Hokke hakkō* took place in *Enshūji*, and, as usual, on the day of the expounding of the fifth *kwan*, the Emperor (who attended the meeting in person), Court nobles and attendants performed circumambulations (*gyōdō*) and gave beautiful presents of ornaments and garments to the priests.⁵

Enshūji (圓宗寺) was a *Tendai* shrine, for its festivals, the

¹ *Nihon kiryaku, Kōhen*, Ch. xiv, p. 1151.

² L I, same page

³ L I, p. 1171.

⁴ *Genkō Shakusho*, Ch. xxv, p. 1088

⁵ *Fusō ryakkū*, Ch. xxix, pp. 820 sq

Hokke-e (instituted A.D. 1072, X 25) and the *Saishō-e* (performed for the first time in A.D. 1082, II 19), together with the *Dayō-e* (大乘會, "Mahāyāna festival") of *Hōshōji* (instituted A.D. 1078, X 3), were called the *Tendai sanne* (天台三會) or "Three *Tendai* Festivals" of Kyōto, counterparts of the *Nanto sanne* or "Three Festivals of Nara" (the *Yuimae* of *Kōfukuji*, X 10—16; the *Gosae* of the *Daigokuden* in the Imperial Palace, I 8—14; and the *Saishō-e* of *Yakushiji*, III 7—13, dating from A.D. 712, 802 and 830).¹ In A.D. 1070 (Enkyū 2, XII 26) *Enshūji* was dedicated by the Emperor Go Sanjō. With regard to this temple and its festivals we may refer the reader to Ch. XI, § 8, C, pp. 481 sq., where the important tasks of Shingon priests (Imperial Princes) at these *Tendai* ceremonies and in the modern *Tendai* temples of those days were indicated. We do not read about *Enshūji* after A.D. 1268; it seems to have decayed thereafter, and in the Ōnin war (A.D. 1467—1477) both temples, *Enshūji* and *Hōshōji*, were destroyed.² Imperial Ordinances concerning the *Tendai nie* and *Tendai sanne* were issued in A.D. 1078 (Shōryaku 6, X 3, *Dayōe*) and 1082 (Shōryaku 10, II 19, *Saishōe*) by the Emperor Shirakawa, Go Sanjō's son and successor.³

The *Enshūji Hokke-e* or *Enshūji Go hakkō* was an annual festival of the 12th month, lasting five days, and was celebrated in the *kōdō* (expounding hall) of the sanctuary before the images of *Shaka*, *Monju*, *Fugen*, *Kwannon* and *Miroku*. According to the *Dayū* the *Muryōgikyō* and the *Fugen-kwangyō* were also dealt with;⁴ in that case it was a *jūkō* rather than a *hakkō* meeting, and the number of days, as often five instead of four, points to the same fact. It took place in the second half of the 12th month,

¹ Cf. above, Ch. xi, §§ 6 and 8, pp. 443 sqq. and 481 sqq.

² *Dayū* I, p. 398, 1, s.v. *Enshūji*.

³ *Genkō Shakusho*, Ch. xxv, pp. 1091 sq., *Fusō ryakki*, Ch. xxx, pp. 828 sq., *Dayū* III, p. 3399, 3, s.v. *Tendai sanne*.

⁴ *Dayū* I, p. 398, 1, s.v. *Enshūji Hokke-e*.

the exact dates being fixed each year by an Imperial Ordinance. In A.D. 1087 it began on XII 22,¹ in A.D. 1103 the dates were XII 19—23;² in A.D. 1142 the *Dayōe* of *Hōshōji* was held on those days, because it had been postponed in the tenth month (X 2); therefore the names of the officiating priests of the *Enshūji Hokke-e* were not fixed until XII 24. In A.D. 1143 it took place on XII 22—26, and was, as usual, attended by high officials.³ *Ryūgi* were only appointed for the *Enshūji Hokke-e*, not for the two other *Tendai* festivals.⁴

§ 8, D. *Hokke hakkō and Gohakkō of the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.*

In A.D. 1104 (Chōji 1, VIII) the Emperor Horikawa sacrificed a copy of the Lotus *sūtra* which he himself had written out, and held a *Hokke hakkō* (in the Palace). The following year (II) a similar ceremony took place in the Toba palace. Probably his illness, which in A.D. 1107 caused his death, was the reason that he performed these rites.⁵

In A.D. 1142 (Kōji 1, VII 19) the *Sonshōji* (尊勝寺) *gohakkō* began, and the first day the *Hōō*, Toba Tennō, went there in person, accompanied by high officials, who also attended the ceremony on the four following days.⁶ The following year (A.D. 1143, VII 3) the *Hōō* visited *Hōshōji* (法勝寺), where a *gohakkō* was held in the *Amida-dō*. Four months earlier (III 16) he performed a *Gohakkō* in the *Toba-jōbodai-in* (鳥羽成菩提院) for the *bodai* (*bodhi*) of his grandfather, Shirakawa Tennō,

¹ *Honchō seki*, Kwanji 1, XII, p. 330

² L 1, Kōwa 5, XII, p. 386.

³ L 1, Kōji 1, XII, p. 449, Kōji 2, XII, p. 490.

⁴ *Dayū* III, p. 3399, 3, s.v. *Tendai sanne*.

Genkō Shakusho, Ch. xxvi, p. 1097.

⁶ *Honchō seki*, Kōji 1, VII, p. 424, cf. p. 543 (A.D. 1146, VII 21)

who died in A.D. 1129. It lasted five days (III 16—20), and presents to the priests were given by the *Hōō* and his attendant court-nobles.¹ The festival of the seventh month, celebrated in *Hōshōji*, was also intended to promote his felicity after death, for already in A.D. 1131 (VII 3—7) his *shūki* (周忌) was performed in that shrine by means of *go hakkō*,² and in A.D. 1276 (Kenji 2, VII 7—11), the anniversary of his death, still a day of national mourning (*gohokki*) (VII 7), was celebrated in the same temple by priests of *Enryakuji* and *Onjōji* (*Mudera*). The *Kegon* priests of *Tōdaiji*, who on VII 5 had been commanded to come to the meeting, had not arrived, and for this reason the festival had been postponed to VII 7, the anniversary itself, which as a rule was the last day of the festival instead of the first *Kyōkai Sōjō* (經海), a learned priest of *Enryakuji*, was the *shōgisha* (證義者), and the *Shun-in* (Kameyama Tennō), the Ministers and Court-officials were present at the meeting and made offerings to the priests.³ It is described in the same way in A.D. 1294 (Einin 2, VII 3—7)⁴ and in A.D. 1346 (Teiwa 2, VII 3—7)⁵. In A.D. 1351 (Kwanō 2, VII 3) it was postponed on account of complaints by the monks of *Kōfukuji*,⁶ and afterwards we do not read of it any more. This festival for Shirakawa Tennō's *meifuku* was always held in *Hōshōji*, because this was his *gogwanji*, i.e. it was erected by him in consequence of a vow (in the Shōryaku era, A.D. 1077—1081). Although it was a *Tendai* shrine, in A.D. 1098 the Imperial Prince Kakugyō (覺行, A.D. 1075—1104, Shirakawa's third son, a *Shūmon* priest of *Ninnaji*, was charged with the superintendence (*kengyō*, control) of *Enshūji* and *Hōshōji* and in A.D. 1102 (VII) he led the dedicatory ceremony of *Sonshōji*.

¹ L I, Kōji 2, III, p. 465.

² *Genkō Shakusho*, xxvi, p. 1101.

³ *Zoku Shūgushō*, 續史愚抄, Ch. iv, p. 111

⁴ *Ibid*, Ch. x, p. 293

⁵ *Ibid*, Ch. xxii, p. 620.

⁶ *Ibid*, Ch. xxiii, p. 668

The so-called *Rokushōji* (六勝寺) or "Six Superior Temples" were *Hōshōji* (Shirakawa's *gogwanji*, A.D. 1077, XI), *Sonshōji* (Horikawa, A.D. 1102, VII), *Saishōji* (最勝寺, Toba, A.D. 1118, XII), *Enshōji* 圓勝寺, Toba Tennō's Consort Fujiwara no Tama-ko, Taiken-Monin, A.D. 1128, III), *Jōshōji* (成勝寺, Sutoku, A.D. 1139, X), and *Enshōji* (延勝寺, Konoe, A.D. 1149, III). All these temples were under the general control (*sōkengyō*) of the great *Shingon* sanctuary *Ninnaji*. In A.D. 1219 four of them burned down and were not rebuilt; *Hōshōji* is, as seen above, still mentioned in A.D. 1351, but it was destroyed in the Ōnin war (A.D. 1467–1477), *Sonshōji* seems to have decayed in the thirteenth century.¹

In A.D. 1276 (Kenji 2, VIII 1–6), on the anniversary of the death of Go Horikawa Tennō (A.D. 1234) a *Gohakkō* was performed by the Court for the sake of his soul. This festival took place in *Anrakkwōin* (安樂光院), also called *Muromachi-in*, in the Imperial Chapel of *Hōjōji* (XI 30–XII 4) (cf. A.D. 1028, XII 4); a similar festival was carried out on the anniversary of Michinaga's death. This was followed by an *Autumnal Gohakkō* (秋季, *shūki gohakkō*) in the *Kasuga* shrine (XII 4), and, as seen above, in the seventh month of the same year (VII 7–11) a *gohakkō* was held for Shirakawa Tennō's soul as a solemn *gokokki* or national mourning.²

Similarly in A.D. 1294 (Einin 2, II 13–17) the *Go Saga-In Gohakkō* was celebrated by the Court in the *Tadashō-in*, a chapel in the *Kameyama-dono*, for the Emperor Go Saga's "felicity in the dark world" (he died in A.D. 1272),³ and in the fourteenth century we find mention of the same festival (A.D. 1311, Ōchō 1, II 13–17), followed by the *Saga-dono Tadashō-in gohakkō*, the Emperor Go Toba's *gokokki* (II 18–22) (he died in A.D. 1239). In the same year on III 13–17 the *Chōkōdō* (長講堂, the

¹ *Dayu* III, p. 4602, 1, s.v. *Rokushōji*.

² *Zoku Shigushō* Ch. IV, Go Uda, pp. 111 sqq.

³ *Ibid.*, Ch. X, p. 288.

Hokkedō of Go Shirakawa Tennō) *Gohakkō* were held for the sake of that Emperor's soul, and on VII 12—16 in the same chapel the anniversary of Go Fukakusa Tennō's death (A.D. 1304, VII 16) was celebrated by this ceremony.¹

It is clear that the *Hokke Gohakkō* were usually intended to promote the *meifuku* or felicity after death of deceased Emperors or great statesmen like Michinaga. As stated above (Ch. VIII, § 18, p. 361), the *Hokke sembō* were also masses for the dead, and the *Hokkedō* were mortuary chapels. Yet the *Hokke hakkō* and *gohakkō* were sometimes performed in case of illness (A.D. 1000), or on the fortieth birthday of an Empress (A.D. 1001), or at the dedication of a new shrine (A.D. 1005), or as an Autumnal festival (A.D. 1276). In the 14th and 15th centuries we also find so-called *Buke hakkō* (武家八講) or "Eight expoundings of the Military Class", performed on XII 2—6 (A.D. 1381, Kōryaku 3; 1426, Ōei 33) or XII 8—12 (A.D. 1491, Entoku 3) in *Tōji* (等持寺), situated in the Sanjō district of Kyōto, many Court-nobles attended these meetings.²

In A.D. 1598 (Keichō 3, VII 20—24) *Hokke hakkō* were performed in the *Seiryōden* of the Imperial Palace, to celebrate the 13th anniversary of the death of Yōkwōin, an Imperial Prince who, dying in A.D. 1585 (VII 24), had received this posthumous title.³

§ 9. *The Hokke jūkō* (法華十講) or "Ten Expoundings of the Lotus". *The Shimotsuki-e of Enryakuji on Hieizan* (XI 14—24).
The Minazuki-e of the same temple (VI 4—8)

As stated above, the *Hokke jūkō* consisting of the *hakkō*, preceded by a session (*za*) devoted to the „opening *sūtra*“ (*kaikyō*) of the Lotus, i.e. the *Muryōgikyō* (Nanjō No. 133), and

¹ Ibid, Ch. xv, pp. 436 sqq., 442.

² Ibid, Ch. xxviii, p. 820, Ch. xxxiv, Vol. II, p. 180, Ch. xli, p. 430.

³ Ibid., Ch. I, p. 658, II, p. 684

followed by a session in which the "closing *sūtra*" (*kekkyō*) of the Lotus, i.e. the *Fugen kwangyō* (Nanjō No. 394), both texts of one *kwan*, was explained. Instead of eight expounding priests (*kōshi*) ten were invited.

The first to perform such a ceremony was Dengyō Daishi (Saichō), who in A.D. 798 (Enryaku 17, XI 14) invited ten priests of the Seven Great Temples of Nara (belonging to the *Kegon*, *Sanron* and *Hossō* sects) to *Enryakuji* on *Hieiizan*, founded by him ten years previously. This was the origin of the *Shumotsuki-e* or "Festival of the Frosty (the eleventh) Month", 霜月會, usually written 十一月會, celebrated on the anniversary of the death of Chi-ché tashu (Chi-i), the great founder of the *T'ien-t'ai* sect in China (A.D. 531—597).¹ It was a festival of ten days, the last of which was (as nearly always) the anniversary (*man-e*, 満會, XI 24). It was also called *Hokke-e*, and once within five years a so-called *Hokke daie* was celebrated with extraordinary splendour. In the beginning it took place in the *Shikwan-in* (止觀院), afterwards in the *Daikōdō* or "Great Expounding Hall", of *Enryakuji*. From A.D. 809 (Daidō 4) an Imperial messenger (*chokushi*) was sent to attend the meeting, as the Emperor used to send a representative to the *Gosai* (I 8—14, in the Palace).²

In A.D. 823 (Kōnin 14, VI 4) the *Minazuki-e* or "Festival of the Waterless Month" (水無月會, mostly written 六月會, i.e. the sixth month) was instituted (also in *Enryakuji*) to celebrate the anniversary of Dengyō Daishi's death (A.D. 822, VI 4); it was therefore also called *Daishukō* (大師講). It lasted 5 days (VI 4—8, contrary to the custom of ending the festival on the anniversary itself); according to a note in the *Zoku Shūgushō*,³ Empō 7 (A.D. 1679), when it was postponed to X 1, it lasted

¹ *Ranjōshō* II, *Gunsho ruyū* No 465, Vol. XIV, p. 979

² *Fusō ryakki*, *bassui*, *Kwammu*, *Enryaku* 17, p. 586 *Daizil* II, p. 2374, 3, s.v. *Shumotsuki-e*, III, p. 4099, 3, s.v. *Hokke jūkō*; *Daizuten* p. 1599, 1 s.v. *Hokke-e*.

³ *Zoku Shūgushō*, Ch LXII, Vol. III, p. 180.

four days, VI 4—7, but this must be a mistake. In A.D. 846 (Shōwa 13) *ryūgi* (豎義) were added, and thenceforth priests of Nara and Kyōto were invited to perform this function at the *Shimotsuki-e* and *Minazuki-e*.¹ Since Ryōgen (良源) (Jie Daishi) (A.D. 912—985) ruled *Hieiizan* (from A.D. 966) only priests of the same branch of the *Tendai* sect were appointed *tandai* (探題), supreme leaders of these festivals by the Emperor; before that time they were only Nara priests. The rites of both meetings were the same. In A.D. 1212 or 1213 (Kenryaku 2 or 3) the *Gon-Uchūben* (權石中辨) Fujiwara no Tsunetaka Ason was sent by the Emperor Juntoku as the first Imperial messenger to the *Minazuki-e* of *Hieiizan*, in accordance with the ancient rule followed at the *Gosaie* and the *Shimotsuki-e*.²

In A.D. 1017 (Chōwa 6, X 29) in *Mudera* the first *Hokke jūkō* was held to celebrate the anniversary of the death of Chishō Daishi (智證大師) (Enchin, 圓珍, A.D. 814—891, who in A.D. 858 introduced the *Jimon* (寺門) branch of the *Tendai* sect into Japan) This great priest died A.D. 891, X 29; the festival lasted for five days, and the function of *ryūgi* was filled by the priest Renshō (蓮昭). There were ten *monja* (問者) to put questions. Fujiwara no Michinaga himself, accompanied by the Court-nobles, went there to attend the meeting. At the time of the eighth question suddenly a large stag ran through the central western gate into the courtyard. Although priests and laymen tried to drive it away, it was impossible to do so, and the stag quickly ascended the hall, much to the consternation of those present. It was thought to be a very strange and ominous event, and Michinaga forthwith retired and left the monastery.³

We learn from these passages, that, like many *hakkō*, these *jūkō* were ceremonies performed on the anniversary of the death

¹ As to the *Minazuki Hokke-e* cf. *Sandai jitsuroku*, Ch. XLVII, p. 659 (A.D. 885, Ninna 1, III 21), above this Chapter, § 4, p. 662

² *Ranjōshō*, Ch. II, p. 1003, *Dayū* III, p. 4285, 2, s.v. *Minazuki-e*.

³ *Fusō ryakki*, Ch. XXVIII, p. 772.

of prominent men, namely of the great *Tendai* founders Chī-che ta-shī, Dengyō Daishi and Chishō Daishi, in order to promote the felicity of their souls. Sometimes also the *Hōjōji hakkō*, celebrated on the anniversary of Michinaga's death (XI 30—XII 4), were called *jūkō*. They were all *hakkō* with an opening and closing ceremony, devoted to the *Muryōgikyō* and the *Fugen kwangyō*.¹

A meeting of quite a different character although, also a *Hokkekō* of ten sessions and five days, was the celebrated congregation, held in A.D. 963 (Ōwa 3, VIII 21—25) in the *Seiryōden* of the Palace. Twenty famous priests, learned men of the Southern capital (mostly *Hossō* monks of *Kōfukuji*, one priest of *Tōdaiji*) and of the Northern residence (nearly all *Tendai* priests of *Enryakuji* on *Hieiizan*, and a single *Shingon* monk) were summoned to the Palace by the Emperor Murakami. A morning and an evening session (sometimes lasting till late in the night) were held each day. In the four sessions of the first and the second days a Southern priest was *dōshi* and disputed with a Northern *monja*; then followed three sessions with Northern *dōshi* and Southern *monja*, one vice-versa, and at the disputes of the last day Northern *dōshi* had again to answer the questions of Southern *monja*. On the 26th of the month the meeting was closed by Kwanri (觀理), who, although a *Shingon* priest of *Daigoji* near Kyōto, had studied the *Hossō* doctrine in *Kōfukuji* in Nara,² and therefore opened and closed this congregation in his function of Southern *dōshi*. This solemn Palace assembly with its extremely animated discussions indicates the great importance attached by the Court and different sects to the tenets of the Lotus *sūtra*, especially to the celebrated doctrine of the *Ekayāna*, *ichijō*, "One Vehicle", instead of two, which formed the topic of a fervent discussion, held in the evening session of the second day by the Southern *dōshi* Hōzō (法藏) of *Tōdaiji*

¹ *Dayū* III, p 4099, 3, s v. *Hokke jūkō*.

² Washio, p 253, 2, s v. *Kwanri* (A.D. 894—974).

(although Hossō sect) and the Northern *monja* Kakkyō (覺慶) of Enryakuji.¹

§ 10. The Hokke sanjūkō (法華三十講) or "Thirty Expoundings of the Lotus", commenced by Michinaga and afterwards performed by the Emperors in Hōjōji and Hōshōji

In A D 1008 (Kwankō 5, V 5) we read for the first time about the *Hokke sanjūkō*, consisting of 30 sessions (*za*), in which in 15 or 30 days the 30 chapters of the *Tendai sambu*, i.e. *Muryō-gikyō*, the Lotus *sūtra*, and the *Fugen kwangyō*, were expounded. The festival took place in Michinaga's house, and on the day of the fifth *kwan* (of the Lotus) (V 5) the Court-nobles and high officials (*kuge*, *denjō-bito* and *gekishi*) brought presents (*sasage-mono*) to the priests. At the same time (V 7—14) 40 monks were invited by the Emperor Ichijō in order for seven days to read the *Hokkekyō* incessantly (*mido(k)kyō*).²

The following year the expounding of the fifth *kwan* of the *Hokke sanjūkō* of the *Sadayūn* (Michinaga) took place on V 9, and all the *ben-shōnagon* made circumambulations with presents for the priests in their hands.³ In A.D. 1011 (Kwankō 8) the *gokwan* ceremony of this festival was celebrated on V 16.⁴ In A.D. 1013 (Chōwa 2, V 4—15) it is called the "*Hokke hakkō* of the *Sadayūn*'s House", but in A.D. 1014 the day of the fifth *kwan* of the *sanjūkō* was V 8, and in A.D. 1016 it was V 7; the festival itself began on V 1, which was also the case in A.D. 1021.⁵ In A.D. 1022 (Chian 2) it was held by Michinaga in the eighth

¹ *Genkō Shakusho*, Ch xxv, pp 1071 sq, Washio, p 1053, l, s.v. *Hōzō* (A.D. 904—968), p 135, l, s.v. *Kakkyō* (A.D. 927—1014).

² *Nihon kiryaku*, *Kōhen*, Ch xi, p 1073.

³ L I, p. 1076

⁴ L I, p. 1083.

⁵ *Ibid*, Ch. xii, pp 1092, 1095; xiii, pp. 1104, 1126.

month, in the *Jōtōmon* mansion, and literati were summoned to compose Chinese poems on a certain subject; in A.D. 1023 it began on IX 10, and again Chinese poetry was required. In A.D. 1024 (Manju 1) we read that the closing day (*kechigwan*, 結願) of Michinaga's *sanjūkō* was V 21.¹ After Michinaga's death (A.D. 1027, XII 4) his eldest son Yōrimichi performed a *Hokke sanjūkō*, which began in A.D. 1030 (Chōgen 3), VII 20, in the house of Fujiwara no Nariie Ason; A.D. 1032 it began on V 12, in A.D. 1033 on V 7, in A.D. 1034 on V 5 (with Chinese poetry on V 16, on the subject of "the moon is the flower of the pine trees"), in his own house. In A.D. 1035 (Chōgen 8, V 17) at this festival in his palace a competition in poetry took place.²

In A.D. 1023 (Chian 3, VII 10) Go Ichijō Tennō began to perform Michinaga's *sanjūkō* in *Hōjōji*, where it became a *choku-e* or Imperial festival, attended by a large number of Court-nobles. Afterwards Toba Tennō celebrated it in *Hōshōji* (法勝寺) and went there in person (A.D. 1112, Ten'ei 3, VI 5). It is not known when the yearly *sanjūkō* of these two temples were abolished; they lasted 30 or 15 days.³ Evidently it was a special Fujiwara ceremony, intended to promote the felicity of the House. In A.D. 1304 (Kagen 2, V 10, its *kechugwan*) that of *Hōshōji* is still mentioned.⁴

§ 11. *The Hokke sembu-e or "Festival of a thousand copies of the Lotus", sacrificed and read by a thousand priests.*

We saw above (§ 3, C, p. 649) that in A.D. 748 (Tempyō 20, VII 18) by order of Shōmu Tennō a thousand copies of the

¹ LI, pp. 1130, 1132, 1134

² Ibid., Ch. XIV, pp. 1156, 1162, 1166, 1168, 1171.

³ *Ranyōshō*, II, p. 993, s.v. *Hōjōji sanjūkō*; II, p. 1000, s.v. *Hōshōji sanjūkō*; *Dayū* III, p. 4098, I, s.v. *Hokke sanjūkō*. *Genkō Shakusho*, Ch. XXVI, p. 1098 (*sanjūkō* in *Hōshōji* in A.D. 1111, V).

⁴ *Zoku Shugushō*, Ch. XIII, p. 374.

Hokkekyō were written out on behalf of the soul of the Empress Genshō, his aunt, who had died on IV 21. This is said to have been the origin of the *Hokke sembu-e* of later times.¹ Yet we do not find this ceremony mentioned again until A.D. 992 (Shōryaku 3, X 23), when the Regent (*Sesshō*) Fujiwara no Michitaka (A.D. 953—995), who the following year after Ichijō Tennō's *gembuku* became *Kwampaku*, sacrificed a thousand copies of the *Hokkekyō* in *Hōkō-in* (法興院).² This sanctuary had been his father Kaneie's residence, which in A.D. 991 the latter had dedicated as a temple. Since the leader of the dedicatory ceremony (*kuyō dōshi*) of the shrine was the *Hossō* priest Shinki (眞喜, A.D. 932—1000), it appears to have been a *Hossō* temple. In A.D. 994 (Shōryaku 5, II) Michitaka consecrated *Shakuzenji* (積善寺) within its compound, with an image of *Vairocana*, 16 feet high, with his attendant Buddhas Śākyamuni and *Bhaisajyaguru*, the Six Deva Kings and a painting of the 10000 bodies of Śākyamuni.³ When in A.D. 992 the thousand copies of the *Hokkekyō* were sacrificed, the Left and Right Ministers and the *Naidaijin* Michikane (all Fujiwara's) with minor officials went to the temple and made offerings on behalf of their ancestors.⁴

In A.D. 1010 (*Kwankō* 7, III 21) the so-called "Holy Man with the furs", Kawa Shōnin, 皮聖人, "His Holiness" (a very high Buddhist title) "clad in furs", i.e. Gyōen (行圓), the founder of *Gyōgwanyū* (行願寺) in Kyōto (A.D. 1005, in Ichijō district; *Senju Kwannon*) made an offering of 1000 copies of the *Hokkekyō* and paintings of more than 3000 Buddhist figures. This Gyōen was a Western foreigner from *Chăn-si* (鎮西, in Central Asia), who wore a Buddha image on his head and a fur robe. He was

¹ *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch XVII, p. 276, *Genkō Shakusho*, Ch XXII, p. 1021, *Dayūten*, p. 1598, I, s.v. *Hokke sembu-e*.

² *Nihon kiryaku, Kōhen*, Ch IX, p. 1014

³ Washio, p. 455, 2, s.v. *Shinki*, *Dayū* III, p. 4109, 3 s.v. *Hōkōin*.

⁴ *Nihon kiryaku*, II.

more than sixty years of age. He worshipped *Senju Kwannon* especially and made use of the magic formulae of this Bodhisattva (*Senju Kwannon darani*).¹

In A.D. 1099 (Kōwa 1, II 24) a *sensō* (1000 priests) *midokyō* was held in the *Daigokuden* of the Palace; the *Kwannongyō* was read, in order to calm the unrest of the world, and with the same purpose the *Ninnōkyō* was read by a thousand priests in *Enryakuji*. In the fifth month (V 27) a *sensō-midokyō* of the *Kwannongyō* in *Tōdaiji*, against the prevailing pestilence, was attended by the Right *Chūben* Fujiwara no Arinobu and lower officials, and the Right General Minamoto no Iesada was the Imperial messenger to the meeting (i.e. the Emperor's representative).

A.D. 1103 (Kōwa 5, X 25) brought two of these meetings, one in *Enryakuji* and one in *Tōdaiji* (X 28), both attended by high authorities. These ceremonies were performed on account of special prayers to be said for the Emperor Horikawa, who with his Court kept *mono-umi*, i.e. fasting and retirement, perhaps because his health was very bad; he died four years later, at the age of 29 years.²

In A.D. 1142 (Kōji 1, II 9) there was a *sensō* (千僧, a thousand priests) *mido(k)kyō* in *Hōshōji* (法勝寺), attended by both *In* (院, the abdicated Emperors Toba and Sutoku), the *Sesshō* (Regent of Konoe Tennō, Fujiwara no Tadamichi), the Left and Right Ministers and many other high authorities. The general leader (*sōkōshi*) was the *Tendai zasu*, the *Sōjō* Gyōgen (行玄, A.D. 1097—1155). Towards night the *Gon-Dainagon* Fujiwara no Munesuke came to the meeting.³ The following years (1143, II 27; 1144, II 22; 1145, II 17) the same ceremony took place in *Hōshōji*.⁴

¹ *Nihon kiriyaku, Kōhen*, Ch. xi, p. 1079, *Dayu* I, p. 688, 2, s.v. *Gyō-en*, I, p. 706, 2, s.v. *Gyōganji*.

² *Honchō seki*, Kōwa 1, pp. 339, 442.

³ *Ibid*, Kōwa 5, p. 382.

⁴ *Ibid*, Kōji 1, p. 399.

⁵ *L.I.*, pp. 463, 493, 502.

In A.D. 1144 (Ten'yō 1, VIII 23) a similar *sensō mudo(k)kyō* was held in *Enryakujū*, but afterwards we do not find this autumnal ceremony mentioned again.¹ As to the vernal rites of the second month, these were continued, for they were celebrated in A.D. 1152 (Nimpyō 2, II 20) in the presence of the Emperor Konoe and his Court, in *Hōshōjū*, but the following year (the last of the *Honchō seki*) only the vernal *Ninnōe* (II 26) is spoken of, and its votive text is given in extenso.²

In A.D. 1145 (Kyūan 1, V 6) the text read by the thousand priests of the *sensō mudokyō* of *Hōshōjū*, against the evil influence of a comet which had appeared, was (according to a note of the *Honchō seki*) the *Ninnōkyō*; further, sixty priests read the *Daihannyakyō* in the *Nanden* of the Palace (the text was also copied and sacrificed), and a thousand monks read the *Kwan-nongyō* in *Tōdayū* and *Enryakujū* (V 8—10).³

In later times this particular kind of ceremony seems to have fallen into disuse, for we did not find it in the annals of succeeding centuries.

§ 12 *The Hokke-e of Tōdayū* (II 16, A.D. 746—789), *Takao* (III 10, A.D. 802—13th cent.), and *Kōfukujū* (IX 30—X 6, A.D. 817—1868).

In A.D. 746 (Tempyō 18, II 16), when Ryōben Sōjō founded the *Tōdayū Daibutsu*, at his request the *Hokke-e* were instituted as a *choku-e* or Imperial festival, celebrated in *Tōdayū*. He was the first to perform it, but after Empō 8 (A.D. 789) it was not continued.⁴ The *honzon* of the *kōdō* of *Tōdayū*, also called *Tembōrin Shōgiden* (轉法輪勝義殿), was *Senju Kwannon* with his attendants *Kokūzō* and *Jizō*.⁵

¹ Ibid., pp. 497

² Ibid., pp. 893, 933

³ Ibid., p. 505

⁴ *Dayū* III, p. 4093, 1, s v *Hokke-e*.

⁵ *Dayū* III, p. 3461, 1, s v *Tōdayū*.

In A.D. 802 (Enryaku 21, I 19) Wake Ason Hiroyo (和氣廣世) invited more than ten virtuous and learned priests to the Buddhist temple on *Takao-san* (高雄山), *Jinguji* (神護寺), in Kadono district, Yamashiro province, in order to perform a *Hokke-e* and to expound the *Tendai* doctrine, under the leadership of Saichō (Dengyō Daishi). The Emperor Kwammu issued a proclamation to express his approval and sent another member of the Wake family to the shrine with an Imperial message.¹ In A.D. 805, when Saichō had returned from China, he performed the first *Sammaya-kwanjō*, a baptismal ceremony in this temple. In A.D. 810 (Kōnin 1) Kūkai (Kōbō Daishi) celebrated the mystic rite of the *Ninnōkyō* there. Afterwards it became a *Shingon* shrine, belonging to the *Tōji* branch of that sect.²

In later times the *Hokke-e* of this temple were blended with a *Shintō* festival, called *Yasurai-bana* (安樂比花) or "Flower of Repose" (the Lotus), intended to avert the evil demons of pestilence; it was celebrated by many people who danced and played on flutes at the *Shintō* shrine of *Murasaki-no* (紫野), with *eboshi* on their heads and clad in white silken robes. The *Hyakurenshō* mentions this festival in A.D. 1155 (Kyūju 2, IV), while the *Takao engi* says that it was celebrated on III 10. The fact that it was ascribed by some authors to the *Jōdo* priest Jakuren (寂蓮) of the Bunei era (A.D. 1264—1275) proves its existence after that time.³

We saw above that most of the Lotus festivals were *meifuku* or *tsuifuku* (追福) *hōe* (法會), celebrated in order to bring felicity to the souls of the dead, and usually ended on the anniversary of their decease. This was also the case with the last ceremony to be mentioned, the *Hokke-e* of the famous *Hossō* sanctuary *Kōfukuji* in Nara.

In A.D. 817 (Kōnin 8) Fujiwara no Fuyutsugu (冬嗣, A.D.

¹ *Fusō ryakkō bassui*, Kwammu Tennō, Enryaku, p. 586.

² *Dayū*, II, p. 2828, 3 s.v. *Jinguji*.

³ *Dayūten*, p. 1109, 3, s.v. *Takao no Hokke-e*.

775—826), the left General, is said to have instituted these *Hokke* rites for the sake of the soul of his father Uchimarō (内膳), who died in A.D. 812 (Kōnin 3, X 6). They lasted seven days, from IX 30 to X 6, the *kechigwan* taking place, as usual, on the anniversary of his death. Fuyutsugu's daughter Nobuko was Nimmō Tennō's Consort and Montoku Tennō's mother. Another tradition ascribes it to Fuyutsugu's eldest son Yoshifusa (A.D. 804—872), the grandfather and regent of Seiwa Tennō, but this is a mistake, due to the fact that it was restored in later times together with the *Chōkōe* (長講會), another *tsufuku* festival, established in A.D. 846 by Yoshifusa and also celebrated in *Kōfukuji* (devoted at first to the *Nehangyō*, but afterwards extended to the *Issaikyō*).

Originally the number of *ryūgi* was five, but it became seven by adding two *Sanron* priests. Until the Ōnin era (A.D. 1467—1469) it took place every year, but after that time it was performed once in two, three, five or eight years. Its *dōjō* (道場) or place of worship was the *Nanendō* (南圓堂) of *Kōfukuji*, with an image of *Fukūkensaku Kwannon* (*Amoghapāśa Avalokiteśvara*) as its *honzon* in accordance with Uchimarō's original vow. Together with Kōbō Daishi Fuyutsugu erected this octagonal chapel in A.D. 813 (Kōnin 4), in order to pray for the welfare and glory of the House of Fujiwara.¹

Although it was one of the *Nankyō Suikō no sanne* (南京遂講三會) or "Three Festivals of the Southern Capital (Nara), accomplishing the expounding (of *sūtras*)", because the priests who had taken part in these ceremonies were *suikō* (遂講), "fulfillers of the expounding", it never became a *choku-e* or "Imperial Festival", like the *Yuima-e*, *Gosate*, *Saishōe* etc.²

This festival, which was continued for more than ten centuries and was not abolished until the Restoration (A.D. 1868), plainly

¹ *Dayūten*, p. 1307, 1, s.v. *Nanendō*.

² Cf. above, Ch. XL, § 6 (the Three Festivals of Nara), p. 211.

proves the fervent belief of the adherents of the *Hossō* sect in the blessing power of the Lotus. As a matter of fact from olden times this King of *Sūtras* was worshipped together with the *Ninnōkyō* and the *Saishōōkyō* as the *chingo kokka no myōten* (鎮護國家妙典, "Wonderful texts protecting the state"), not only by the *Tendai* sect, but by all the sects of the Southern and Northern Capitals, Nara and Kyōto. More than all other great *sūtras* it has maintained its honoured place and wide renown, in tales of wonder, in ceremonies and cults, and in the hearts of men.

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ERRATA
„ANCIENT BUDDHISM IN JAPAN”

- P. 29, § 3, *in stead of* „the Empress Jomei”, *read* · „the Emperor Jomei”.
- P 110, l 6 from below, *in stead of* „Amoghasiddhi”, *read* „Amoghasiddhi”.
- P. 183, l 14 from above, *in stead of* „Kanshun”, *read* „Kenshun”.
- P 202, l. 6 from above, *in stead of* „Nan-ku”, *read* „Nan-hu”
- P. 218, l. 5 from above, *in stead of* „jinza” *read* „jinzū”.
- P 304, l 10 from above, *in stead of* „Ninnyō”, *read* „Nimmyō”
- P. 307, l. 6 from above, *in stead of* „Jūichūmenbō”, *read* „Jūichūmenbō”.
- P 317, l 1 from above, *in stead of* „Daigō Tennō”, *read* · „Daigo Tennō”.
- P. 334, l. 13 from above, *in stead of* „Kubon” *read* · „Kuhon”.
- P. 431, l 4 from below, *in stead of* „Konkwmyōōkyō”, *read* „Konkwō-myōkyō”.
- P 594, n 2, *in stead of* „Hyorai”, *read* · „Nyorai”
- P. 500, l 11 from above, *in stead of* „day”, *read* „dog”
- P 516, l 3 from below, *in stead of* „Aizen-ō” *read* „Aizen Myōō”
- P. 553, nr.11 *in stead of* „Kongoshu”, *read* · „Kongōshu”.
- P. 566, l. 5 from above, *in stead of* „abhya-mudrā”, *read* „abhaya-mudrā”.
- P. 573, l 1 from above, *dele* „Ganda-vyūha”
- P. 617, l. 6 from below, *in stead of* „mounnian”, *read* „mountain”.
- P. 618, l. 12 from above, *in stead of* „Maha-shikwan”, *read* · „Maka-shikwan”.
- P. 632, l. 3 from above, *in stead of* „stalts”, *read* · „stalks”